Discursive Borders in EUrope

by

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The work presented (including data generated and data analysis) was carried out by the author except in the cases outlined below.

Parts of this thesis have been published by the author:

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Abstract

This PhD thesis develops a critical account of discursive practices of bordering in the EUropean migration regime. By articulating recent advances from the fields of Critical Migration and Border Studies and Discourse Studies, it develops a theoretical and methodological framework that enables grasping discursive borders in their heterogeneity. On a broader level, it is interested in re-approaching post-structuralist and materialist strands of theory and analysis by going back to their beginnings in structural Marxism and psychoanalysis. EUrope's discursive borders are scrutinised through the lens of different contexts that allow emphasising the entangled nature of policy, academic, and activist discourse. First, the present research scrutinises a set of practices of discursive bordering with a relatively high stability over time. Adopting a post-colonial, macro-historical perspective, it shows how EUrope's colonial history infuses the conceptual apparatus of the EU's contemporary migration policy. This serves as a foundation for the following chapters, that examine practices of discursive bordering from a micro-enunciative and a situated perspective. While the second analysis focuses on the construction and supraversion of the labour / refugee divide in German discourses on EUropean migration, the third shows how discursive borders are turned into a political stake in a migrant protest. This allows conceiving of categorisation and differentiation as discursive practices that are scattered in time and space, and characterised by resonances, contradictions, and subversions instead of following a common rationality or having a central point of reference.

Introduction

Fences, barbed wire, the floods and shores of the Mediterranean Sea, checkpoints and barriers, walls and gates, passports and stamps: people often conceive of borders in their tangible or physical materiality. And indeed, borders are clearly more than just lines on a map or bureaucratic formalities, but powerful realities that materially impact people's lives in multifarious ways. At the same time, they are highly contested. Emphasising the brute materiality of EUrope's[1] borders has proved a vital strategy to denounce the exclusionary effects of the *fortress Europe,* and the troubling fact that its borders kill human beings on a daily basis.[2]

However, there is a second dimension to borders: as much as they matter in their tangible materiality, borders are also discursive constructions. Borders are powerful ideologies, in the sense that relatively arbitrary and recent demarcations are presented as natural and quasi-eternal matters of fact. And they are discursive practices – more than a mere reflection or supplement, discourse constitutes a crucial dimension of their materiality. In other words, borders need to be made meaningful to matter. It is this *discursive materialisation* of borders that my research aims at exploring. Far from being 'just language', I argue that discursive borders play a crucial role in how people's movements to and through EUrope are apprehended, made relevant, and politicised.

My research aims at contributing a critical account of discursive practices of bordering in the EUropean migration regime, alongside practices of movement in the EUropean space. It looks at the way discursive differentiations between 'forms' or 'types' of migration create divisions between people. It investigates the discursive dimension of borders not in opposition to, but as an integral part of their materiality, and shows how borders that are often taken for granted are constituted and transformed through

[1] By using the term *EUrope*, I intend to point to a widespread discursive torsion of the geographical, institutional, and historical layers of meaning that are masked by the synonymous use of 'Europe' and the 'European Union'. This conflation will be explored in greater detail in chapter 3.

[2] Between 1999 and 2013, the *Human Costs of Border Control* project at the University of Amsterdam counted 2626 dead people at the Southern borders of Europe alone (Human Costs of Border Control 2015). Only recording border deaths that have been documented by local authorities in Italy, Malta, Spain, Gibraltar and Greece, the actual figure is arguably much higher. According to the *Missing Migrants Project* run by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), 3279 people lost their lives in the Mediterranean in 2014 (IOM 2016).

discursive processes. Finally, it looks at the highly political quality of these issues, which are directly connected to questions of power, autonomy, control, and resistance.

In this light, it is not a coincidence when Cecilia Malmström, European Commissioner for Home Affairs from 2010-2014, demarcates two privileged routes of entry, while simultaneously pushing against the metaphor of a 'fortress Europe':

> Secure borders do not mean that we are constructing fortress Europe. It will still be possible for people to seek international protection in the European Union and we must also keep it open for the labour migration that we so desperately need. (European Commission 2011b)

Malmström's speech on migration management hints at two characteristic features of EUrope's discursive borderscapes. The negating reference to a 'fortress Europe' points to an awareness, if not recognition of political positions that challenge the exclusionary effects of migration policies. But it also contains a binary construction of legitimacy and deservingness. As I will show, this configuration underpins the distinctly EUropean take on contemporary migrations.

The way apparently trivial and innocent distinctions are tied to discourses and processes of social exclusion becomes apparent in a second example. Consider the following statement of Sören Link, social democrat and mayor of the city of Duisburg in Western Germany:

> I would like to have twice as much Syrians, if I could get rid of some Eastern Europeans in return. (*Süddeutsche Zeitung* 2015; my translation)

Link's statement appears to express the logistical worries of a local technocrat, who is stating his preference of one migrant 'group' over the other. But it unfolds quite a different, highly cynical meaning when considered in its political context. In the midst of the EUropean 'refugee crisis'[3], and in a local context that is marked by the racist stigmatisation of Eastern European migrants as a problem (see AK Antiziganismus / DISS 2015), Link's statement effectively performs a discursive bordering that resonates with Malmström's speech.

[3] As critical scholars have remarked, this has first and foremost been a crisis of the EUropean border regime (see New Keywords Collective 2016, 15–21).

Discursive practices of bordering keep surfacing at different times, in local, national, and supranational contexts, and across several fields of migration discourse as diverse as policymaking, academia, and activism. My research aims at exploring EUrope's discursive borders in their heterogeneity. It looks at how practices of differentiation that appear unrelated at first glance are in fact intimately entwined. At the same time, it traces the cracks and contradictions that imbue allegedly stable and self-evident distinctions.

From the outset, my research project was confronted with a vast array of entangled, yet contradictory manifestations of discursive borders. However, the distinction between 'refugees' and '(labour) migrants' soon turned out to be central. It is seen as a crucial distinction for the management of migration, mobilised as a rhetorical tool to discriminate between those who are welcome and those who are not, animating the setup of entire research fields such as Refugee, Mobility, and Migration Studies, or turned into a political stake by activists. The 'labour / refugee divide' demonstrates that discursive borders matter beyond a merely bureaucratic distinction, terminological quibbles, or a neutral practice of labelling that would 'just' allow us to conceive of people's movements.

Discursive borders are omnipresent in migration discourse, and yet they are rarely scrutinised with regards to their intricate functioning, material effects, and highly political quality. My research turns them into an explicit object of scrutiny. While the 'labour / refugee divide' prompted my interest for discursive borders, I am concerned with developing theories and methods that allow analysing how multiple discursive practices of bordering intersect and ambivalently feed into each other.

With a transdisciplinary combination of approaches from Discourse Studies and Critical Migration Studies, I explore the intricacies of discursive borders in EUrope. I look at the role they play across different discursive contexts, the material consequences they have for those who are categorised, and for those who reproduce, reconfigure, and analyse them in their everyday practices as researchers, policymakers, or activists.

Research questions

My work is based on the following set of research questions:

> How are discursive borders effective in the EUropean migration regime from 1997 to 2014?
>
> > a) How do practices of categorisation and differentiation such as the 'labour / refugee divide' become discursive borders?
> >
> > b) What resonances, contradictions, or subversions can be observed across different contexts of migration discourse?
> >
> > c) How do individual and collective, migrant and non-migrant subjects take a share in the construction and deconstruction of discursive borders?

To answer these questions, I explore EUrope's discursive borders by cutting across different contexts. This allows addressing the entangled nature of policy, public, and activist discourse, as well as the discursive relations that unfold between them. At the same time, the heterogeneity of discursive borders is not regarded as a limiting factor, but as a principle that guides analyses in three specific contexts: EU policymaking; German discourses on EUropean migration; and the self-organised protest *March for Freedom*, which crossed EUrope's borderscapes in the spring of 2014. Such a multi-level approach enables grasping continuities and discontinuities of discursive borders across different contexts, without privileging their static over their dynamic qualities.

Time frame

Setting the time frame for a research project is always a delicate task – especially when dealing with migration, an object that is continuously in motion by definition, both discursively and materially. This became especially evident during the conception and implementation of my research project from 2013-2017, a period that was prone to staggering developments and a highly 'spectacular' logic of attention around migration. Looking at discursive borders in the EUropean migration regime, it made sense to take into account developments from the late 1990s onwards, a moment that is generally seen as the advent of a genuinely EUropean governance of migration (see

Geddes and Boswell 2011). Cutting off data collection in the spring of 2014, after I had finished my fieldwork at the *March for Freedom,* and just before the public attention for migration attained a new high in the discursive echo chambers of the "summer of migration" (see Kasparek, Speer, and Buck 2015; Buckel 2016) and the UK vote on 'Brexit', was a pragmatic move. I could have continued without an end.

However, in the face of these developments, cutting off in 2014 is also a deliberate move against the spectacular discursive attention the 'issue' of migration has received since 2015. Arguably, the events of 2014-2016 have led to the biggest boom that the field of Migration Studies has seen since its consolidation. While such growth is a welcome development on many levels – countless critical studies have seen the light, and migration is a new favourite topic among graduate and post-graduate students – the political economy of knowledge production is affected in highly problematic ways as well. It is perhaps more pressing than ever to explore the consequences these changing circumstances have for the politics of funding, evaluation, and impact, as well as for a critical production of knowledge (see Fiedler et al. 2017b for some preliminary reflections).

And yet, as will become apparent in the following chapters, both the spatial and the temporal perspective of my research *do* stretch beyond this frame. The dialectics of borders and movements are not easily confineable, and I have tried to capture this restless, intractable quality as well as I could. This also involved incorporating broader historical dynamics and current events in the analysis whenever appropriate. If a research project is necessarily limited in its scope, I would argue that adopting a more 'holistic' sensibility is an indispensable prerequisite for a critical study of EUrope's borders.

In the remainder of this introduction, I will briefly situate my research project and its core contributions in the fields of (Critical) Migration Studies and Discourse Studies, and conclude with an outline of the chapters.

Contributions to (Critical) Migration Studies: discourse matters

While Migration Studies have traditionally devoted a great deal of attention to one or the other 'type' of migrant, there is much need for more systematic research on the discursive borders between them.

For the longest time, categories such as '(labour) migrant' and 'refugee' have been regarded as static entities providing a 'neutral' vocabulary for research in the academic discourse on migration. At the same time, the responsibility for definition and attribution has largely been relegated to the spheres of law and policymaking. Such a positivist stance is epitomised by liberal regime theories that assume the disjunctive existence of different regimes targeting different, neatly separated forms of movement such as 'migration', 'mobility', 'asylum', or 'tourism' (see for example Koslowski 1998a, 1998b, 2011; Hollifield 2012) or 'labour migration' (see for example Ruhs 2013; Fornale, Zurcher, and Panizzon 2015). It is mirrored in the insistence on a segregation of research fields such as *Refugee Studies,* which narrow down their scope to a specific 'type' of movement (here 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers'), the boundaries of which are largely taken for granted (see Black 2001 for a history of the field). In both cases, the existence of international policy frameworks and definitions of their respective watchdogs such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM), The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), or the International Labour Organization (ILO) are seen as corresponding with distinct movements of people. Often, researchers do not only lack an awareness for the complex lifeworlds of those who are confronted with the categories they use, but also refrain from granting them any share in the process of definition. In the mainstream of Refugee and Migration Studies, both the discursive quality and the power relations involved in differentiation and attribution remain largely unquestioned.

More recently, there has been a growing awareness that distinct forms of migration are not always readily discernible amid 'mixed migration flows' (see van Hear, Brubaker, and Bessa 2009; van Hear 2011). In this context, researchers stress that people frequently 'jump' between different categories to realise their migration project (see Czaika and de Haas 2013), point to the 'asylum-migration nexus' that makes ex-ante categorisations more and more difficult (see Papadopoulou 2005; Castles 2007), emphasise the protection potential of 'labour migration' in addition to an increasingly inaccessible asylum regime (see Long 2015), or highlight the overlapping quality of

different policy regimes and the resulting 'regime complexity' (see Betts 2011, 2013). Yet again, the discourse of 'mixed migration' originates in the spheres of international policymaking. Resulting from a process of rapprochement between core agencies in the field of global migration governance (see for instance UNHCR and IOM 2001; ILO 2001; UNHCR 2007b), it indeed problematises sharp delineations. However, the power relations and positivist logics of differentiation remain untouched where the existence of a 'core subjectivity' for a moving person is still assumed. Often, the general concern seems to be more with the efficient governance through triage and the preservation of organisational identities (see Karatani 2005), than with the lives and movements of people. The gaze of 'mixed migration' is taken to an extreme in the paradigm of *Mobility Studies* (see Sheller and Urry 2006; Cresswell 2010), that subsumes a multiplicity of movements (including migration and transport) under a generalised condition of mobility, while completely masking relations of power and privilege.

By contrast, I stick to the notion of *migration* as a label that is necessarily imperfect, but allows putting a strong emphasis on these issues. With the words of the activists in the *Precarity Office Vienna*, "if the door shuts behind you, you are a migrant" (cited in Rübner Hansen and Zechner 2017). In a similar vein, Lisa Riedner (2017) suggests the formula "migration = mobility + racism" in order to come up with a definition of migration that acknowledges power dynamics and processes of exclusion.

In a similar vein, the positivist-empiricist approach outlined above is challenged by research that focuses on the highly political quality of defining and discriminating between 'migrants' and 'non-migrants' (see Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002; Anderson and Blinder 2013; Anderson 2013; Elrick and Farah Schwartzman 2015), 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers' (see Chimni 1993; Zetter 1991, 2007; Long 2015), or the conflation of 'forced' and 'illegal migrants' (see Scheel and Squire 2014; De Genova 2013). Others emphasise the intersectional quality of such distinctions and their relation to race/ethnicity, class, and gender (see De Genova 2010, 2016; Schrover and Moloney 2013a; Rübner Hansen and Zechner 2017).

On the conceptual and methodological level, this is complemented by suggestions to treat practices of 'labelling' (see Zetter 1988, 1991, 2007) or 'figures of migration' (see Scheel and Squire 2014) as research objects in their own right, or advocate a 'cross-categorical research' (see Schrover and Moloney 2013b). These contributions

are characterised by a critical-constructivist stance. Instead of dealing with categories and their differentiation as more or less accurate reflections of reality and assuming that they neatly map onto people's movements and their subjective experiences, they are taken as political processes that *create* powerful socio-political realities.

In a cognate move, researchers in Refugee and Migration Studies problematise the exclusionary politics and political economy of research fields that mirror the categories and demarcations of policymaking, and show that this often is to the detriment of those who are directly affected by them (see Malkki 1995; Chimni 1998, 2008; Scalettaris 2007; Bakewell 2008). The problematic complicity between academic research centres and migration control is revealed in institutional ethnographies (see Hatton 2011; Hess 2010).

Proceeding in a similar direction but advocating a more openly political agenda, recent contributions to Critical Migration Studies propose to invert the traditional perspective of migration research by explicitly siding with the movements of migration (see Garelli and Tazzioli 2013a). Combining a materialist outlook with the concept of governmentality, they suggest grasping practices of categorisation and differentiation as a productive dimension of border regimes, which feeds into the control of mobile populations (see Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008; Andrijasevic 2009; Mezzadra 2011; Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). Symbolic processes are here seen as contributing to the differential in- and exclusion of people's movements, which are qualified as essentially autonomous and in 'excess'. Placing a concern for power and contestation at the centre of their investigation, these contributions challenge the top-down bias of migration research, and allow analysing bordering in terms of a complex, ambiguous, and de-centred process.

However, the contribution of these materialist strands of migration research is flawed on two levels: First, the methodological handling of symbolic processes largely remains unclear, and tools for a systematic analysis of linguistic material are rarely developed or used. And second, they are marked by some theoretical ambiguities regarding the exact status of symbolic processes, and their relation to borders and movements. Problematically, symbolic representation is tendentially reduced to something that is immaterial and impeding political agency (this stance is especially pronounced in Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008). Such reasoning is reminiscent of an argument that recently gained popularity with the success of 'new

materialisms' across the Social Sciences and Humanities (see Coole and Frost 2010; Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012; and Lundborg and Vaughan-Williams 2015 for a compelling critique). While a reappraisal of materiality and materialism is very much needed and welcome, I argue that a reductionist analysis that insists on erecting hard borders between 'the material' and 'the discursive' is detrimental to an integrated analysis of bordering in terms of a composite, *material-discursive* process. In this respect, I join Vicki Squire in her diagnosis that materialism and materiality indeed pose an important challenge to a critical study of geopolitics, but are better conceptualised in terms of material-discursive 'intra-actions' instead of unilaterally determining forces (Squire 2015b).

Against this background, I maintain that discourse and discourse analysis matter for constructivist and materialist strands of (Critical) Migration Studies. Sharing their general thrust and explicitly political approach, I contribute theories and methods for a qualitative analysis of discursive borders. Contrary to the 'traditionalist' approaches touched upon earlier, I challenge the assumptions of a pre-existing set of discrete categories that fit migrants' lifeworlds, and of a definite centre (states, institutions, academic disciplines, etc.) that guarantees homogeneity and stability of definitions and attributions. Instead, EUrope's discursive borders are turned into an explicit object of scrutiny. I explore their highly ambivalent and political quality that is, as I will show, part and parcel of how we conceive of movements to and through EUrope. This resonates with the project of a 'reflexive agenda' for Critical Migration Studies, which seeks to turn the critique of the field's conceptual boundaries into a more collective endeavour (see Fiedler et al. 2017b; and the contributions in Fiedler et al. 2017a).

By articulating approaches from the fields of Critical Migration and Discourse Studies, my work advances the understanding of a special discursive object. Discursive bordering is a de-centred and heterogeneous discursive practice. It transcends different levels of analysis, surfaces in various contexts, and ambivalently intervenes into the autonomy and heteronomy of people's movements. However, it does not necessarily follow a common rationality, or have the same effect in every instance. The theoretical and methodological framework developed in my research seeks to grasp discursive bordering in its complexity, and to enable a non-reductive analysis of boundary-drawing in terms of a *material-discursive* process.

Contributions to Discourse Studies: bringing materialism back

Discourse Studies are concerned with developing theories and methods to analyse the discursive constitution of social and political realities (see Angermuller, Maingueneau, and Wodak 2014a). While materialism and the materiality of discourse have figured prominently in the early days of discourse analysis – especially in the 'French' tradition (see Pêcheux [1975] 1982; Courtine 1981; Conein et al. 1981a; also see Beetz 2016) – this legacy is rather marginalised in its contemporary versions (see Beetz and Schwab 2017b for a review).

By contrast, I suggest bringing a concern for materialism and materiality back into Discourse Studies to scrutinise material-discursive practices of bordering in their complexity. Beyond the subject matter of this thesis, this materialist version of discourse analysis can also be applied to similar discursive objects, which feature processes of differentiation with a high degree of instability, de-centralisation, and ambivalence.

In the broadest sense, a concern for borders has always been present in Discourse Studies in the guise of questions around identity, subjectivity, and difference. Inspired by structural linguistics (see Saussure 1915; Benveniste 1971), Jacques Derrida's deconstructivist critique (Derrida 1976), Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis (Freud [1900] 2010; Lacan 1981), or Louis Althusser's Marxist political economy (Althusser 2005, 2014; Althusser et al. [1965] 2015), theorists like Judith Butler (1990, 1993, 1997, 2015), Michel Foucault (1981, 2002), Stuart Hall (1997, 1985), or Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2001 [1985]) have pointed out the crucial role of difference for the constitution and contestation of subjectivities and meaning through discourse (also see Schwab 2016).

The same is true for the more empirical strands of Discourse Studies, and especially Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Here, researchers scrutinise for example exclusion, invisibilisation, and silencing (see Herzog 2011, 2013, 2017), the discursive legitimisation of immigration control (see van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999), the role of racism in public and political discourses on migration (see van Dijk 1991; Reisigl and Wodak 2005; Delanty, Wodak, and Jones 2008; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2009), or the discursive construction and stigmatisation of 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers' in media discourse (see Baker and McEnery 2005; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Baker et al. 2008).

Despite the transdisciplinary self-conception of Discourse and Migration Studies, a substantial knowledge transfer and dialogue rarely takes place between the two. Notable exceptions are three more recent volumes on *Migrations: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Messer, Schroeder, and Wodak 2012), *The Discourses and Politics of Migration in Europe* (Korkut et al. 2013), and *Public and Political Discourses of Migration* (Haynes et al. 2016), which bring together scholars working on migration discourse from various fields. However, the disciplinary borders between them are largely left in place.

By interlacing advances from Discourse and Migration Studies, I repudiate a strange division of labour according to which, as I was once told at an 'interdisciplinary' conference, '*discourse analysts do stuff with text and talk, and migration scholars work on actual movements and borders*'. I hope to show that research on migration in Discourse Studies would substantially profit from a more complex theoretical conceptualisation of borders, movements, and their governance. Vice versa, it would be desirable for researchers in Migration Studies to take advantage of the theoretical and methodological developments in discourse theory and analysis. In this regard, the contribution of my research does not only consist in scrutinising the discursive borders that constrain the movements of people, but also in challenging the boundaries that impede a genuinely transdisciplinary collaboration.

For this purpose, I resort to Johannes Angermuller's work on enunciative pragmatics, a post-structuralist approach to discourse that articulates sociological with linguistic perspectives (Angermuller 2011, 2013, 2014a). The enunciative approach bridges the micro/macro divide of discourse analysis by combining an interest in language, practices, and (material) context. This allows to analyse differentiated subject positions and practices of positioning in relation to their institutional and historical context, and the conditions of production they are embedded in. The focus on the discursive construction of subjectivity, time, and space, as well as the emphasis on an 'excess of meaning' make it particularly compatible with critical research on movements of migration and their governance.

While enunciative pragmatics stands in the 'French' materialist tradition of discourse analysis, materialism is mostly regarded as a mere 'pre-history' in its contemporary versions. In today's Discourse Studies, materialism constitutes more of "a spectral undercurrent", than an explicit point of reference (see Beetz and Schwab 2017b, xi ff.).

By contrast, I am interested in re-approaching post-structuralist and materialist strands of analysis by going back to their encounter in structural Marxism and psychoanalysis. This also contributes to the collective endeavour of revitalising the cognate interest for material discourse and materialist analysis in Discourse Studies (see the contributions in Beetz and Schwab 2017a).

Inspired by the materialist beginnings of discourse analysis, my approach is based on a 'borderless' understanding of discourse that transcends the rigid distinction between different theoretical and methodological traditions, and between 'text' and (material) 'context' (see Pêcheux [1983] 1995). Contemporary Discourse Studies are traversed by three 'borders': the separation between theory and methodology, micro and macro, as well as empirical analysis and critical reflexivity (see Angermuller 2017, 153–56). I propose to bridge these divisions with my critical-materialist take on discourse theory and analysis.

For the analysis of material-discursive practices of bordering (and similar research objects), I develop a framework that enables scrutinising what I call the *double excess* of social and political realities. The 'double excess' is my attempt to address a question that has already preoccupied materialist discourse analysts in the past, namely how to think about the relation between a "real of language" and a "real of history" (Conein et al. 1981b). The notion of the double excess aims to grasp the encounter between the excess of meaning (the heterogeneity of migration discourse) and the excess of reality (the incorrigibility of migration movements). Cutting across different contexts, I explore the effects of the double excess in terms of the historical overdetermination, the ambivalent discursive materialisation, and the highly contested nature of discursive borders in the EUropean space.

What comes to the fore here is the entanglement of the material and the discursive aspects of bordering and movements. Against the background of the double excess, discursive practices of bordering can be regarded as interventions that harness the proliferation of meaning in migration discourse by bordering a material-discursive space of ambivalence. At the same time, meaning is only achieved temporarily, and always already confronted with its own inherent instability and practices of contestation. In doing so, I hope to extend the understanding of material-discursive realities in Discourse Studies and neighbouring fields

Beyond these theoretical and methodological contributions, my work points to the serious ethical and methodological challenge of a reflexive knowledge production in and beyond the field of migration. The kind of materialist discourse analysis developed in this thesis explicitly encourages accounting for the heterogeneity of discursive borders and the situated, contextual quality of categorisation and differentiation, while not masking the enunciative and material power relations that infuse our everyday lives. As I have put it with Johannes Beetz,

> [a] materialist approach does not give all the answers before the fact, but guides practices of analysis, critique, and intervention that acknowledge contradictions instead of trying to tame them. If certain tensions arise, this is not to be seen as a failure of the approach, but a reminder of the stubbornness of the social realities we are confronted with. For us, being materialists means being open to surprises, unexpected turns, leaving the comfort zone of abstract analysis and static methodology for a critical and collective reflection on how we are bound up with the horrors of late capitalism. (Beetz and Schwab 2017c, 42)

Such is the critical impetus that informs my work on discursive borders in EUrope.

Outline of chapters

This introduction is followed by a theoretical discussion that puts recent advances from Critical Migration Studies into a dialogue with post-structuralist and materialist Discourse Studies. This permits the theorising of practices of discursive bordering and developing the concept of the 'double excess' of material-discursive practices, which serves as the analytical framework for this thesis (chapter 1).

Next, I develop methods and tools for a qualitative analysis of discursive bordering. To this end, I re-articulate the enunciative-pragmatic strand of discourse analysis with its materialist beginnings. This allows conceiving of discourse analysis as an explicitly political practice that continuously moves between theory, methods, and objects to grasp discursive borders in their heterogeneity. In this way, my materialist take on discourse puts equal emphasis on in-depth empirical analysis, critical reflexivity, theoretical elaboration, and methodological development (chapter 2).

This emphasis on complexity and heterogeneity is continued in the three chapters that present the results of my analysis. Cutting across different temporal and spatial

contexts, each of these chapters highlights a different facet of EUrope's discursive borders. To this end, material discourse analysis is not only used in its conventional, micro-analytical form (chapter 4), but also implemented as a macro-historical (chapter 3) and situated approach (chapter 5).

I first analyse practices of discursive bordering with a relatively high stability over time. Adopting a post-colonial, macro-historical perspective, I show how EUrope's colonial history permeates the conceptual apparatus of the EU's contemporary policymaking, and the practices of discursive bordering it underpins (chapter 3).

This serves as a foundation for the following two chapters that explore the intricate workings of discursive borders in greater detail. In the next chapter, I look at the construction and deconstruction of the labour / refugee divide in German discourses on EUropean migration. In doing so, I put a particular focus on the intersectionality of discursive bordering and its political implications (chapter 4).

In the last analysis chapter, I show how discursive borders are politicised in a migrant struggle, the transnational *March for Freedom* from Strasbourg to Brussels in 2014. On the way to Brussels, the marching activists crafted a prefigurative politics that allowed to simultaneously move within, across, and beyond borders. This was made possible by turning abolishing and analysing borders into a joint concern (chapter 5).

Such a multi-level approach allows conceiving of bordering in terms of heterogeneous discursive practices that are scattered over time and space. They are characterised by resonances, exchanges, contradictions, and subversions, instead of following a common rationality or having a central point of reference. The highly contradictory nature of EUrope's discursive borders is condensed into a set of conclusions, which also reflects on the limitations, as well as some implications my study may have for future research in and beyond Critical Migration and Discourse Studies.

I close with an epilogue in the form of a reflexive piece on discourse analysis and social change within and beyond 'overall shit', a political context that is marked by extreme violence and intricate relations of power and privilege. More than a mere addendum, this epilogue once again reflects on the practical and political limitations of my project by picking up questions of care, responsibility, and solidarity, which came up in the research process. A set of notes on research ethics is included in the appendix (pp. 229ff.).

Chapter 1: Theorising Discursive Borders and the Double Excess of Migration

> [T]he categories of 'refugee', 'migrant', and 'citizen' (…) create borders between people. The division of people and countries by borders daily kills human beings. Abolish all borders! Stop the killing! (March for Freedom 2014a; my translation)

For the activists of the transnational *March for Freedom*, a self-organised non-citizen protest march from Strasbourg to Brussels in 2014, practices of discursive bordering are much more than a mere technicality. Akin to the physical dividing lines that have since long been contested by social movements, their symbolic counterparts are seen as equally real. Indeed, apparently 'neutral' categories have material, potentially deadly consequences. As Gaston Ebua, member of *The VOICE Refugee Forum Germany*, puts it in an interview,

> 'technical' terms – whatever they pretend to describe neutrally – serve to deny us our humanity and to make our history completely invisible. This means that labelling as a procedure constitutes a perpetual form of destruction that is total, precisely because it is inextricably linked with history that doesn't only affect a random individual, but really everything imaginable. (Ebua and Lauré al-Samarai 2007, 398)

While the two statements refer to different political contexts, they share the perspective of self-organised activism against the exclusionary borders of EUrope. As situated theories of categorisation, they provide both a political rationale and a suitable starting point to explore the workings of what I call EUrope's discursive borders.

Recent research in Critical Border and Migration Studies puts emphasis on the changing nature of borders. According to Parker et al., borders increasingly defy "a straightforwardly territorial logic (…) together with a host of cognates: territory, space, inside/outside, network, region, periphery, margin, limes, threshold and so on" (2009, 583). They do so through processes of diffusion, internalisation, externalisation and temporalisation. Nevertheless, the concept is still associated with a "seductive charm (…), a craving for the distinctions of borders, for the sense of certainty, comfort and security that they offer" (ibid., 584).

For Étienne Balibar (2002), this "vacillation" (89) necessitates rethinking the historical "overdetermination" of borders and practices of bordering, which do not necessarily take place "at the border" (ibid., 79-81). Balibar makes a plea to account for the "polysemic nature of borders (…), the fact that they do not have the same meaning for everyone" (ibid.). Pointing to the close relationship between defining concepts and drawing borders, he indicates a challenge: "The theorist who attempts to define what a border is, is in danger of going round in circles, as the very representation of the border is the precondition for any definition" (ibid., 76). This adds an additional layer to the problematic at stake. While exploring practices of categorisation and differentiation as modes of discursive bordering, we are confronted with the inherent instability of the *concept* of the border itself.

However, if borders seem to be marked by a deep heterogeneity, they should not be mistaken for arbitrary devices. The stark divergence between a perspective of comfort and security on the one side, and of effacement, destruction, and death on the other attests to different material positions and effects. It shows that any border – be it physical or discursive – points us to questions of in- and exclusion, relationality, and power.

Outline

In this chapter, I develop a theoretical framework for my analysis of discursive borders. To grasp the heterogeneous nature of borders, I combine theoretical approaches from Critical Migration and Border Studies, and Discourse Studies. This allows addressing the intricate relation between borders, migration, and practices of categorisation and differentiation. In the following, I will address how discursive borders intersect with physical borders, and whether they can be regarded as equally (or less) 'material' and 'real'. By going back to the beginnings of Discourse Studies in the encounter between linguistics, structural Marxism and psychoanalysis, I develop the concept of the double excess of borders and migration. While *double excess* serves as an analytical frame for my research, it also adds a nuanced perspective on the material-discursive nature of borders to Critical Migration Studies. My work contributes to discussions on categorisation, differentiation, and in-/exclusion in Migration Studies and Discourse Analysis, and aims at articulating and enhancing theoretical advances from both fields.

In the first part of the chapter, I address the above questions by introducing contemporary theories of border and migration regimes, as well as the concept of the autonomy of migration.

In the second part, a concern for discursive borders, representation, as well as processes of in- and exclusion is located within this literature.

In the third part, I explore how discourse theories can further substantiate these approaches by thinking through the constitutive character of practices of bordering, as well as the materiality of discursive borders.

In the fourth part, I develop the concept of the double excess of borders and migration. The concept of the *double excess* allows grasping the encounter between two dimensions of excess: the surplus of reality of the movements of migration, and the surplus of meaning that characterises migration discourse. Beyond a mere interpretative device, I argue that theorising the double excess provides us with a useful framework to analyse and contest borders as material-discursive configurations.

The heterogeneity of discursive borders also poses a political challenge. In conclusion, I will briefly reflect on the crucial question of 'who is (not) a discursive border guard?' against the background of my theoretical approach.

1. Border and Migration Regimes, and the Autonomy of Migration

Theorising migration has long been a rather 'insular' endeavour, with different approaches predominantly sticking to the mindset of their discipline. A genuinely interdisciplinary understanding of migration theory has been developing only gradually over the last 20 years, alongside the emergence of Migration Studies as an interdisciplinary field. It has resulted in taking stock of different theoretical trajectories and exploring a common theoretical horizon for migration theory in a global age (see for example Massey et al. 1993; Arango 2004; Portes and DeWind 2004; Brettell and Hollifield 2008; Favell 2008).

Arguably, the notion of 'regime' is among the most industrious travellers of disciplinary borders. Researchers talk about migration and border regimes (Ghosh 2000; Düvell 2002; Sciortino 2004; Hollifield 2012; Tsianos and Karakayalı 2010;

Hess and Kasparek 2010), mobility regimes (Koslowski 2011; Glick Schiller and Salazar 2012), citizenship regimes (Jenson 2007; Vink and Bauböck 2013) as well as the asylum (Joly and Suhrke 2004), refugee (Betts 2010), or deportation regime (De Genova and Peutz 2010). To a certain extent, I believe, the success of the concept relies on its relative openness, which attracts researchers interested in the relation between the structure and agency of movements and control.

In my work, I rely on a critical understanding of regime developed in Critical Migration and Border Studies (see Sciortino 2004; Tsianos and Karakayalı 2010; Hess 2012; Mezzadra and Neilson 2013; Casas-Cortes et al. 2014). This allows us to think about the entanglement of different practices of bordering alongside a concern for the autonomy of migratory movements (see Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008; Mezzadra 2011). In this light, regimes are always marked by an excess of mobility that pushes their boundaries. While this decidedly materialist understanding is not present in mainstream theorising, it indeed relies on a longstanding theoretical tradition.

Regime theory in Critical Migration and Border Studies

Regime theory in Critical Border and Migration Studies has a complex genealogy. It is inspired by activist interventions[4], respective concepts in International Relations (IR, see Krasner 1982; Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittberger 1997), as well as the Regulation approach in materialist Political Economy (Lipietz 1987; Jessop 1990). In the following, I will briefly review the main tenets of regime theory to show why it has been attractive to scholars of migration.

In IR, regimes were prominently defined by Stephen Krasner as "sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations" (Krasner 1982, 186). Later, the concept was adopted by multiple strands of IR theory.[5] While differing

[4] In fact, the academic discussion in Critical Migration Studies has been closely entwined with the intervention of activist groups such as the German *Forschungsgesellschaft Flucht und Migration*, which has mobilised the regime concept since 1995 for a critical knowledge production on Europe's external borders (see Forschungsgesellschaft Flucht und Migration e.V. 1995-2005).

[5] For example in realist power-based, neo-liberalist interest-based, and sociological knowledge-based frameworks, with the latter mainly focusing on ideational and communicative aspects (see Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittberger 1997). This scholarship gave rise to the discussion on global governance (see Hewson and Sinclair 1999) that dominates the field today.

in terms of their ontological and epistemological orientation, all these approaches are focussing on transnational forms of political coordination and steering beyond the nation state, and beyond rigid distinctions between public and private actors. In this way, regime theories try to come to grips with a problem that has haunted scholars in the field for decades: how is it possible to think cooperation and coordination under the anarchic constraints of the international sphere, where a central instance that could guarantee stability (epitomised by the modern nation state) is essentially absent?

Scholars of Regulation[6], however, have been driven by quite a different issue (see Jessop 1990, 170): how does capitalism manage to survive despite its inherent contradictions, continuing crises, and ongoing contestation by new forms of antagonist struggles and social movements? Coming from this direction, they propose the concepts of 'regimes of accumulation' and 'modes of regulation' to think about highly precarious states of economic coherence in an essentially instable context (which is, this time, not the anarchy of the international sphere, but constituted by the contradictions and conflicts inherent in global capitalism).

Regimes of accumulation (e.g., Fordism, post-Fordism…) are defined by Alain Lipietz as "fairly long-term stabilization of the allocation of social production between consumption and accumulation" (Lipietz 1987, 179). This stability is assured by a specific mode of regulation

> in the shape of norms, habits, laws, sanctions and regulating-networks which ensure the unity of the process and which guarantee that its agents conform more or less to the schema of reproduction in their day-to-day behaviour and struggles. (Ibid., 14-15)

Despite important differences regarding their theoretical commitments and empirical objects, the two conceptions of regime share a common horizon (see Jessop 1995).[7] Both provide theoretical frameworks to think de-centred, networked structures of

[6] Here, I am mainly focussing on the Parisian school of Regulation, and the work of Alain Lipietz (1987, 1993) more specifically. For a review of the different strands of Regulation see Jessop (1990).

[7] Sometimes, their respective points of departure are conflicting, as is the case between IR's (neo-) liberalism versus the regulationists' materialism. Additionally, the *implicit* aspects of regimes mentioned in Krasner's initial definition have largely been neglected by early strands of regime research in IR, whereas the grasp of regulation theory reached beyond the realms of the institutional from the beginning. It is not fully clear to what extent an exchange between the two strands took place. While reviews of Regulation openly acknowledge IR scholarship (for example Jessop 1990, 2002), major presentations of IR regime theory (for example Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittberger 1997) remain silent about advances in Marxist regulation theory.

coordination and governance that deal with problems of coordination or contestation, and are anchored through norms and procedures. And, even more relevant for the issues at stake: both focus on the entanglement of formal and informal processes of governance.

However, a regime is not necessarily the outcome of intentional action. While such a view is rather marginal in IR and remains confined to its sociological strands, this is a central aspect of the regulationist paradigm:

> Something which 'forms a system' and which we intellectually identify as a system precisely because it is provisionally stable must not, I repeat, be seen as an intentional structure or inevitable destiny because of its 'coherence'. (…) [I]ts coherence is simply the effect of the interaction between several relatively autonomous processes. (Lipietz 1987, 24–25)

The regime concept as it has been developed in IR and the Regulation school is attractive to scholars in Migration Studies for three main reasons: the de-centring of the nation state; its praxeological orientation; and the issue of contestation.

First, regime theory allows analysing the regulation of migration beyond the nation state and state institutions. In the light of the debate on globalisation (see Appadurai 1996), as well as the advent of transnationalism and theories focussing on the sociability of migration in the 1990s (see Massey et al. 1993; Vertovec 1999), the regime concept provided an alternative to the reductionist concept of migration systems conceived in congruence to nation state containers (for example in Kritz, Lim, and Zlotnik 1992).

For the critical migration scholars Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson, a regime

> encapsulates the flexible, multiscalar nature of the processes of governmentality and governance (…), as well as the heterogeneity of their actors and the growing intertwining of knowledge and power that characterizes them. (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, 179)

Here, the reference to the concept of governmentality hints at a Foucaultian understanding of power that denies its sovereign form a central position. Rejecting an understanding of regulation in terms of a top-down process, the focus shifts to multifarious practices of governing that involve a multiplicity of actors. Most notably, Michel Foucault's concern for a decentralised, and even self-realised or non-

intentional control of populations through knowledge and subjectivation is crucial here (see Foucault 2003, 2009). This provides a first starting point for my articulation of regime and discourse theories in the second half of this chapter.

Second, the regime concept allows for a praxeological take on the regulation of migration. In this perspective, borders are seen as being continuously in the making. The focus shifts from a presumably fixed line to a myriad of bordering practices. Neither can this plurality of *doing borders* be traced back to a common rationality or intention, nor can it result in an absolutely coherent whole – here, the similarities to regulation theory are striking. Vassilis Tsianos and Serhat Karakayalı talk about a "reversion of sovereignty" and propose "to understand regulations of migration as effects, as condensations of social actions instead of taking regulations functionalistically for granted" (Tsianos and Karakayalı 2010, 376). For Mezzadra and Neilson, "the unity of the border regime is not given a priori. Rather, such unity emerges through the ability to react effectively to questions and problems raised by dynamic processes" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, 179).

This understanding is also present in Giuseppe Sciortino's frequently cited finding that

> a migration regime is usually not the outcome of consistent planning [but] (…) a mix of implicit conceptual frames, generations of turf wars among bureaucracies and waves after waves of 'quick fix' to emergencies, triggered by changing political constellations of actors. The notion of a migration regime allows room for gaps, ambiguities and outright strains: the life of a regime is the result of continuous repair work through practices. (Sciortino 2004, 32–33)

Sciortino's emphasis on 'implicit conceptual frames' provides us with another hint at the relevance of language for practices of bordering. However, the grasp of critical regime theory is not limited to practices of coordination and negotiation.

Third, practices of contestation are seen as pivotal in critical strands of regime theory. Its proponents conceive of the border as "a site of constant encounter, tension, conflict and contestation", and of migration as "a coconstituent of the border as a site of conflict and as a political space" (Casas-Cortes et al. 2014, 69). In this perspective, power is ubiquitous and relational, but necessarily connected to practices of resistance. While this stance constitutes the distinctiveness of critical regime theories, it resonates with the regulationist paradigm at the same time. Before exploring this materialist argument

in depth, I will condense my review into a comprehensive definition with regard to discursive bordering.

Surprisingly, the literature on migration regimes in Critical Migration Studies is short of a succinct definition that includes the three major characteristics outlined above.[8] I propose to work with the following definition:

> A border and migration regime forms the space of continuous, de-central encounters between movements (or the politics of mobility) and control (politics of bordering). Within the regime, regulation encompasses practices of coordination, negotiation, and contestation with different degrees of intentionality, formalisation and standardisation.

In this light, discursive borders can be seen as heterogeneous and de-central practices that intersect with other forms of bordering on the level of a regime. The regime provides a concept to theorise the interactions between border-substance (for example fences, walls, or the sea) and border-practice (for example gestures, categories, in/exclusion) without levelling their fundamental differences. Erecting a highly secured border fence is not *literally* the same as defining migration in a policy paper. But both practices resonate with each other, and it is of pivotal importance to scrutinise these resonances, and the material effects they have. Doing discursive borders (for example by categorising and differentiating) is not necessarily intentional, nor does it follow a central rationality. Discursive borders are never neutral, but intervene in the relation between movements and control. This definition is slightly fuzzy, because it does not specify the relation between agency and structure. In the following, I will explore how the regime concept in Critical Migration Studies overlaps with the theory of the autonomy of migration in order to clarify this point.

[8] Sciortino's definition of regime as a "set of rules and practices historically developed by a country in order to deal with the consequences of international mobility through the production of a hierarchy – usually messy – of roles and statuses" (2004, 32) comes close. However, it is flawed by its methodological nationalism.

The autonomy of migration

The notion of the autonomy of migration was coined by Yann Moulier Boutang (1998) and subsequently adopted in the field of Critical Migration Studies (see for example Mezzadra 2006, 2011; Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008; Bojadžijev and Karakayalı 2010; Scheel 2013a; Casas-Cortes, Cobarrubias, and Pickles 2015).[9] The distinctive feature of this body of literature is a triple focus on migration as a spatial, social, and highly conflictual movement. Beyond a mere repetition of the transnationalist gesture[10], it is characterised by privileging the analysis of *movements* over *control*. This position is driven by a militant impetus that takes sides by conceiving of critical knowledge production as "a political intervention in both migration policy discourse and the politics of the antiracist movement" (Scheel 2013a, 579). [11]

As shown by Angela Mitropoulos (2007), the understanding of autonomy is crucially inspired by 'Italian' autonomist Marxism. [12] Decisively shaping the political landscape in Italy from the 1960s to the 1980s (with a lasting effect until today), this theoretical and militant tradition perhaps most prominently resonates in the work of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000, 2009). Against this background, autonomy refers to collective forms of political organising beyond parties and trade unions, and the relative autonomy of the working class from the constraining forces of capital. This includes an cognate focus on migration as a key category to understand the workings of capitalism[13], and on a new 'class composition' that questions the assumption of a

[9] In his essay *The Battle for the Border*, Néstor Rodríguez (1996) independently makes a similar argument.

[10] The transnationalist paradigm emphasised the sociability of migration against an economist determinism that has long been prevalent in mainstream theorising (see Vertovec 1999).

[11] Manuela Bojadžijev and Serhat Karakayalı (2010) claim that autonomy is a "dazzling term, slogan, and program all at once", and "its use, first and foremost, functioned for many as an act of liberation". This stance is connected to a broader reflection on 'militant research' that goes beyond the field of migration (see Shukaitis, Graeber, and Biddle 2007). The major part of the contributions reviewed in this section is critical of the theory/practice divide and prompts to challenge the separation between academic research and activism.

[12] As with almost all geographical labels, it insufficiently captures the essentially transnational quality of autonomist Marxism. Soon after its emergence, the political current influenced for example collective theories and struggles of migrant and non-migrant workers in Germany in the 1970s (see Gruppe Arbeitersache München 1973; Betriebszelle Ford der Gruppe Arbeiterkampf 1973; Bojadžijev 2008).

[13] While not placed in the same context of discussion, this constitutes very much the point of departure of Yann Moulier Boutang's seminal book *De l'esclavage au salariat* (1998), which is considered as important stimulant for the work on autonomy in Critical Migration Studies. Moulier-Boutang places

quasi-natural unity of class by looking at contradictions and struggles that cut across the class divide (see Alquati 1975; Kolinko Collective 2001). While this made it possible to address the divisive impact racism has on workers' struggles, it was the special merit of autonomist feminists to challenge the holy trinity of the male, national, productionist subject by adding a concern for reproductive labour (see for example Dalla Costa and James 1975 [1972]; Federici 1975).

It is impossible to provide a short account that does justice to the complexity of this theoretical and political tradition.[14] With the following passage, Sylvère Lotringer aptly describes what is at stake in autonomist politics, and does away with a common (individualist) misconception:

> Individuals are never autonomous: they depend on external recognition. The autonomous body is not exclusive or identifiable. It is beyond recognition. A body of workers, it breaks away from labor discipline; a body of militants, it ignores party organization; a body of doctrine, it refuses ready·made classifications. (in Lotringer and Marazzi 2007b, 8)

Three theoretical propositions of the autonomy of migration approach stand out: ambivalence, excess, and struggles of migration. There are, however, some ambiguities regarding the conceptualisation of the autonomy/heteronomy relation. In my view, they are closely related to the underpinning understandings of materialism. I will explore these issues on the following pages.

First, according to Mezzadra, the "gaze of autonomy" emphasises the ambivalence of migration, for it allows

> looking at migratory movements and conflicts in terms that prioritize the subjective practices, the desires, the expectations and the behaviours of migrants themselves. This does not imply a romanticization of migration, since the *ambivalence* of these subjective practices and behaviours is always kept in mind. New dispositifs of domination and exploitation are forged within migration considered as a social movement, as well as new practices of liberty and equality. (Mezzadra 2011, 121)

his argument in relation to the regulationist paradigm, but complains about its relative negligence of mobility and migration (ibid., 67-85).

[14] I can only refer to Steve Wright's (2002) excellent conceptual history, a volume that assembles some seminal texts (Lotringer and Marazzi 2007a), and Nanni Balestrini's gripping narrative accounts (Balestrini 1989, [1971] 2014).

A similar perspective underpins Manuela Bojadžijev and Serhat Karakayali's (2007) theses on the autonomy of migration. They advocate a dialectical view, in which migrants are not unambiguously heroes, villains, or victims:

> [M]obility is the source of exploitation insofar as capitalism relies on the mobility of labour forces, and at the same time, mobility is the source of escape from relations of exploitation and oppression. Migration is neither free from existing forms of socialization [*Vergesellschaftung*], nor is it possible to think it entirely channelled. (Bojadžijev and Karakayalı 2007, 209; my translation)

In this light, they theorise the relation between politics of control and mobility as "co-determination" (ibid., 204; my translation). In a similar vein, Dimitris Papadopoulos et al. maintain that "the autonomy of migration approach does not, of course, consider migration in isolation from social, cultural and economic structures (2008, 202). The opposite is true: migration is understood as a creative force within these structures" (ibid.). In line with the understanding of autonomy introduced above, this reasoning serves to rebuff misconceptions that confuse the autonomy of *migration* for an essential autonomy of *migrant subjects* in the sense of modern continental philosophy (also see Mitropoulos 2007; Bojadžijev and Karakayalı 2010).

The second distinctive feature of the autonomy of migration consists in the assumption of an 'excess'. On the one side, this is conceived of in terms of an excess of "mobility" (Mezzadra 2011, 124), of "movements of mobility" (Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008, 191), or of "forces and movements of migration" (Casas-Cortes et al. 2014, 69). On the other, it is theorised in relation to a "surplus of sociability", an "excess of potentials that creates the possibility of escape", an "excess of social relations" (Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008, 77–78) or an "excess of practices and subjective demands that express themselves over and above the 'objective causes' that determine them" (Mezzadra 2011, 126).

While the concept of excess could be qualified as slightly imprecise at first glance, I would argue that both dimensions are equally relevant to understand the theoretical argument at stake. Against a statist perspective that puts emphasis on the *corrigibility* of migration, the autonomy of migration grasps the movements of migration (both in their spatial and political quality) as essentially *incorrigible*. It is excess, and not practices of control and exclusion that is seen as constitutive of the "politics of mobility" (Mezzadra 2011, 126). In this light, the regulation of migration is not only

the business of those who are commonly understood as regulators (nation states, supra- and international organisations) but necessarily driven by the excessive forces of migration. Autonomy, then, is not a correction from below, but a constant factor located right at the centre of border- and migration regimes, "a constituent force in the formation of sovereignty" (Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008, 202).

The last (and perhaps most important) element of the analytical and political gaze of the autonomy of migration is the explicit focus on struggles. Echoing the historical-materialist conception of history as "history of class struggles" (Marx and Engels 1988, 209), the general thrust of the regulation approach, as well as autonomist politics that see struggles and not class-consciousness "as the greatest educator of the working class" (Wright 2002, 77), it also bears some marks of Nicos Poulantzas's argument that "[s]truggles always have primacy over, and constantly go beyond the apparatuses or institutions" (Poulantzas 1978, 45).

Yet again, the terminology is used in slightly different ways. On the one side, "struggles of migration" are seen as "materially constituting the field of the politics of mobility" (Mezzadra 2011, 121) or as "constitutive of the transformation of history" (Bojadžijev and Karakayalı 2010). But in a slightly wider definition, Papadopoulos et al. conceive of "escape from the zones of misery as a political articulation and genuine social struggle which works with the excess of experience" (2008, 202–3).

The difference between struggles *of* migration and migration *as* struggle is subtle but important. More a continuum that is present within the autonomy literature than two fixed positions, it cannot be neatly mapped onto its distinct contributions. Unfortunately, scholars of autonomy do not take great care to point out the implications of this distinction to their readers. I propose to make sense of it in terms of different trajectories of materialism that underpin the autonomy of migration. I argue that what is at stake here is a transition from an *epistemological* to an *ontological* conception of materialism.

The epistemological conception of autonomy implies a dialectical materialism that refuses to treat migration as a dependent variable (Bojadžijev and Karakayalı 2007, 208).

In this vein, Mezzadra proposes to analyse how

> on the one hand, capital attempts to reduce the excess of mobility to its value code through the mediation of the State and other political and administrative apparatuses [and how] (…) [o]n the other hand, struggles of migration are often characterized by the transformation of this moment of excess in a material basis of resistance and organization. (Mezzadra 2011, 125)

Here, the relation between autonomy and heteronomy is conceptualised in terms of a co-determination.

By contrast, the ontological conception maintains that "migration *exists only within* these conflicts, out of which arise new historical conjunctures, along with new regimes of migration" (Bojadžijev and Karakayalı 2010; my emphasis). In the light of struggles, migration is seen as a constituent force. Here, autonomy is not conceived of in terms of mere events or corrective moments, but as an ongoing ontological condition of mobility that constitutes the field of migration. Papadopoulos et al. go as far as describing "[t]he relation between control and escape [as] one of temporal difference: escape comes first" (2008, 56). The ontological conception of autonomy clearly demarcates itself from versions of Anthony Giddens's (1984) structuration theory and its echoes in constructivist theorising (see for example Wendt 1987), which would map heteronomy onto 'structure', and autonomy onto 'agency'. This is important, because such a dualist understanding clashes with the anti-structuralist impetus of critical regime theory.

Conceiving of borders in the light of critical regime theory and the autonomy of migration involves the ability

> to reach beyond the underlying basic binary logic of structure/agency in order to demonstrate how at the border there is no single, unitarian organizing logic at work. Instead, the border constitutes a site of constant encounter, tension, conflict and contestation. In this view, migration is a coconstituent of the border as a site of conflict and as a political space. (Casas-Cortes et al. 2014, 69)

This aptly condenses the core argument of the autonomy of migration. But first and foremost, the emphasis on *co-constitution* mediates between the epistemological and the ontological conceptions of autonomy. Describing the relation between autonomy and heteronomy as a continuum both makes up for the slightly misleading lapse into

chronology by Papadopoulos et al.[15], and the repeated accusations of romanticization that are levelled against the autonomy approach (see Scheel 2013a, 2013b).

By conceiving of migration as a (constraining) representation of material movements across borders, the autonomy of migration provides a critical perspective on discursive borders. It enables theorising the differentiation between 'types' of migration (for example 'labour' and 'refugee' migration) as practices of bordering that try to come to grips with the autonomy, the excess of migration. In the light of autonomy, discursive borders are highly ambivalent. They might contain the movements of migrations at times, but are constantly challenged by the struggles of migration, and migration as a struggle. The encounter between discursive representations and the movements of migration will now be explored in greater detail.

2. Borders, Representation, and Differential Inclusion

> Secure borders do not mean that we are constructing fortress Europe. It will still be possible for people to seek international protection in the European Union and we must also keep it open for the labour migration that we so desperately need – *Cecilia Malmström* (European Commission 2011b)

> Brick by brick, wall by wall, make the fortress Europe fall! – Chant at the *March for Freedom, 2014*

The image of a *fortress Europe* is certainly one of the most pervasive representations of EUrope's borders. While NGOs, activists, journalists, and scholars use it to denounce the exclusionary aspects of the EUropean border regime, recent contributions in Critical Migration and Border Studies challenge its analytical adequacy. First, it obfuscates the assertiveness of the movements (the *autonomy*) of migration that I have discussed above; and second, it is not capable of accommodating the heterogeneity of contemporary borders that constituted an important starting point of this chapter.

[15] Following Poulantzas, resorting to chronological reasoning for theorising the relation between struggles and institutional power risks inducing an unhelpful chicken-or-egg problematic and reverting into the arguments of a "positivist-empiricist-historicist current" (Poulantzas 1978, 39).

Yet, this ambivalence does not spare the workings of the very metaphor. As reflected in the above quotes, the *rejection* of a 'fortress Europe' is both mobilised to justify a fine-grained management of migration through the labour / refugee divide, and to frame an emancipatory political project. This illustrative example points to the intricate relation between borders and representation. In the following, I will explore this complexity through the lens of two different approaches. The first scrutinises representation in relation to the question of autonomy (Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008), the second looks at practices of differential inclusion that selectively filter movements of migration through nested layers of in- and exclusion (Mezzadra and Neilson 2012, 2013).

The relation between borders and representation is continuously present in the literature introduced above. It is for example implied when Balibar prods us to the kinship between acts of bordering and acts of definition (Balibar 2002, 89), or when Sciortino stresses the role of "implicit conceptual frames" and "the interdependence of observation and action" that characterises migration regimes:

> The overall structure of the migration will determine how flows – regardless of their 'true' nature – will be observed and acted upon. Similar flows will be observed very differently within different regimes. Differential treatments will feed back in different ways of observing. (Sciortino 2004, 33)

In a similar vein, scholars working with the approach of ethnographic regime analysis (see Hess and Tsianos 2010; Tsianos and Karakayalı 2010) encourage analysing discourses both as components of border regimes and as expression of the movements and struggles of migration, which interact with its material counterparts (see Hess and Tsianos 2010, 246). However, the central notions of 'frame' and 'discourse' are lacking a succinct definition, as well as a theoretical specification regarding the nature of their interaction with 'material' aspects of the border.[16]

[16] Hess and Tsianos put considerable efforts into discussing the pitfalls of 'Foucaultian' discourse analysis in Cultural Studies. Unfortunately, they relegate their own approach to discourse to a rather short footnote, and propose a rather eclectic combination of Althusser's technique of symptomal reading and a textual-interpretative approach to discourse from the field of institutional ethnography (Hess and Tsianos 2010, 252–53).

Bordering imperceptible politics

In their book *Escape Routes*, Dimitris Papadopoulos, Niamh Stephenson and Vassilis Tsianos (2008) provide us with an elaborated account of the relation between borders and representations. In the light of the autonomy of migration, they maintain that

> [s]overeign power mobilises to organise and contain social conflict. Representation is nothing other than a means to render the forces partaking in a social conflict visible to the gaze of power. Moreover, power relations operate by making social actors representable within a regime. (Ibid., 56)

In their view, representation is necessarily a moment of heteronomy, because it

> attempts to excise escape's fictionality and virtuality by delegitimising it as impossible, quixotic or impracticable and, simultaneously, it tries to make its reality and literality productive (...). Power works by policing the border between the fictional and the real, by interrupting their constructive force to harness and create actual occasions of experience outside representation. (Ibid., 67)

In the field of migration, power is seen as using "optical trajectories" (ibid., 202) to contain "everyday cultural and practical practices of escape" (ibid., 72) within dominant logics of subjectification (for example rights, productivity, or heteronormativity), thus eclipsing their emancipatory potential.

Against a politics of representation conceived along these lines, they posit a different understanding of the political that departs from its 'imperceptibility'. Inspired by the work of the feminist scholar Donna Haraway (1988, 1992, 1991), imperceptible politics imply "a refusal of representation":

> Politics happens beyond, *before* representation. Outside politics is the materialisation of the attempt to occupy this space outside the controlling force of becoming majoritarian through the process of representation. (Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008, 70)

Imperceptibility is seen as going beyond the teleological logics of representation (in terms of rights, tolerance, acceptance, or inclusion): "Escape is about dissent and construction, it is not protest. It is made up of everyday, singular, unpretentious acts of subverting subjectification and betraying representation" (ibid.).

Analytically and politically, they propose to focus on *materialisation* instead of *representation*:

> Materialisation opposes any representational function of language. People develop singular modes of existence by being embedded in continual processes of affecting others, of materialising experiences, changing bodies, creating new connections to things and animals (...) they undo stable, representable subject positions. (ibid., 157)

In many ways, this argument connects to the debate on 'new materialisms', which has recently generated much attention across the SSH (see for example Coole and Frost 2010; Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012). For the authors of *Escape Routes*, the "move to materiality is simultaneously a move beyond the predominance of language and the symbolic" (Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008, 64). Thus, their position not only constitutes a 'new materialist' horizon for emancipatory politics, but also a fervent critique of "discursive" (and "humanist", "gouvernemental", "universalist", or "cognitive") conceptions of subjectivity (ibid.). According to the authors, these frameworks

> cannot account for the specific forms of heterogeneity entailed in collective modes of existence, for the incommensurable dimensions of any nexus of actual occasions which lie beyond common sense and common sensibilities. None of these approaches to subjectivity manages to conceive of sociability, or the connections between people, in terms of singularity. (...) In contrast to approaches to subjectivity which cast sociability as a homogenising and relational force or process, we understand continuous experience as fuelling a mode of connecting with the world as non-unifiable singularity. (ibid., 159-60).

This rather coarse critique seems overly dismissive of some of the approaches mentioned. Indeed, discourse theory and analysis proceed in a much more nuanced way than claimed by the authors (and their fellow 'new materialists'), as I will show in this and the subsequent chapters (also see Lundborg and Vaughan-Williams 2015; Beetz and Schwab 2017b). What deserve more attention at this point are some shortcomings that inherently flaw the theoretical argument presented above.

My first point of critique concerns the conception of representation, and the conflation of its institutional [*vertreten*] and symbolic [*darstellen*] dimensions. While the two are

unquestionably intertwined, they are not as congruent as suggested.[17] Exclusively conceiving of representation in terms of heteronomy not only masks the emancipatory potential of appropriations within/against the dominant lines of subjectification (which are indeed recognised by the authors) as well as the fact that they can very much result in symbolic representations that are *not* immediately containable by sovereign power. It also runs the danger of assuming a post-representational, non-majoritarian form of politics as its *ultimate* expression, and as its only version that can live up to 'true' emancipation. This precludes the fact that symbolisation is marked by an excess itself – an understanding that is very much engrained in the emphasis on ambivalences that characterises the gaze of autonomy. Overall, the authors' reasoning assumes a strange coherence of the process of representation, which runs against their emphasis on post-intentionality, de-centrality, and heterogeneity and risks purporting what could be called a 'functionalism of representation'.

My second point concerns the conception of the "move to materiality" in terms of "a move beyond the predominance of language and the symbolic" (Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008, 64). This is problematic for two reasons. First, language and the symbolic are much more relevant to their own practice than the authors would like to admit. By encountering, listening, asking, reading, citing and arguing, the authors are rendering imperceptibility conceptually legible. In this way, imperceptibility re-enters the field of representation, and there are no grounds to assume a fundamental difference between this and other processes of symbolic representation. Second, the binary distinction between language and materiality reintroduces a logocentric, representationalist border. Masking the fact that struggles, excess, and materiality cut across such dichotomies from the beginning, this binary distinction clashes with the post-representationalist thrust of the book.

Despite these limitations, the merits of *Escape Routes* are undisputed. The authors alert us to the oppressive effects of fixed representations, the pitfalls of accepting the majoritarian logics of representation, and the fact that symbolic regimes of representation only capture the excess of social and political realities inadequately.

[17] Gayatri C. Spivak's (1994, 70ff.) critique of Foucault's and Deleuze's take on activism and representation (see Foucault and Deleuze [1972] 2006) is based on a similar point.

Next, I will turn to a concept that more explicitly focusses on the *ambivalences* of categorisation and differentiation by looking at the dialectics of in- and exclusion.

Bordering as differential inclusion

In the course of this chapter, it has become increasingly clear what contemporary theorists of the border have in mind when they point to its inherent heterogeneity. This emphasis on complexity matches with what Mark B. Salter calls an "end of the line" as the dominant topological metaphor of Border Studies (Salter 2012, 736–38). The concept of differential inclusion represents an attempt to address the complexities of bordering beyond a binary filter. By differentially including migrants on the move in a number of different (and often contradictory) ways, borders are seen as functioning more like the semi-permeable membranes of plants than an impenetrable brick wall with a gate. As I will show, this understanding has consequences for a theory of discursive borders.

The theory of differential inclusion was first introduced in Critical Migration Studies by Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson (2010, 2012), and has subsequently been applied and developed by the authors (2013) and other scholars in the field (see Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe 2007; Andrijasevic 2009; Hess and Kasparek 2010). Beyond a rather obvious inversion of Stephen Castles' notion of 'differential exclusion' (Castles 1995), it draws crucial inspiration from feminist and autonomist theories (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, 159–62). Put succinctly, differential inclusion

> has long provided a means for describing and analysing how inclusion in a sphere or realm can be subject to varying degrees of subordination, rule, discrimination, and segmentation. (Mezzadra and Neilson 2012, 191)

Most basically, the concept points to the fact that exclusion only amounts to one of many effects of contemporary borders. Indeed, exclusion (from a certain space or subject position) is seen as coextensive with inclusion. Differential inclusion can be read as a plea to account for the complexity and the interplay between processes of in- and exclusion in a migration regime. Accounts scandalising control and closure tend to lose their critical and analytical potential when presupposing homogenous sorting mechanisms as well as their frictionless functioning. Most paradoxically and against

the critical impetus, such a perspective pushes migrants' positions out of focus by reducing them to their status as victims and objects of control.

For example, migrants' exclusion from the legal position of a 'citizen' (and from related citizenship rights) goes hand in hand with their inclusion in specific lower strata of the labour market. At the same time, racist or sexist stigmatisation and exclusion from mainstream society can foster inclusive solidarities along the lines of gender or race/ethnicity, which can ultimately be turned against the very mode of exclusion. The first example replicates an argument that is relatively widespread in Migration Studies. It is for example present in Michael Piore's seminal book on migrant labour in industrial societies (Piore 1979), or in research on 'differential exclusion' in terms of a strategy for the governance of migration (Castles 1995). The second example, however, reflects a slightly expanded understanding of the concept that decentres the nation state as a pivotal point of reference, and emphasises the heterogeneity of differentiation, both in terms of its anchoring and of its effects.

This understanding is present in Mezzadra and Neilson's more recent take on differential inclusion in *Border as Method* (2013). Crucially inspired by the feminist debate on intersectionality (see for example Crenshaw 1991; McCall 2005) and the concept of class composition discussed earlier, Mezzadra and Neilson address

> how exclusion always operates in tandem with an inclusion that is never complete, fracturing and dividing identities in ways that are not necessarily compatible and scattering differences across social and political spaces. (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, 161).

At the same time, they emphasise the multiplication and entanglement of different dimensions of differential inclusion. The concept allows the scrutiny of the

> overlapping of multiple lines of inclusion and exclusion, blurring the boundary between them and destabilizing the existence of a unified and homogenous point of reference against which the position of migrants can be ascertained. On the other hand, the stratification and multiplication of systems of entry, status, residence, and legitimacy, coupled in seemingly contradictory ways with new kinds of demand for loyalty and homogeneity, foster processes of further diversification and bordering of migrants' subject positions. (ibid., 164)

Differential inclusion highlights how migrants' positions are multiplied, articulated, and differentiated in practices of positioning. In the light of a regime concept which is maximally open for a maze of autonomous processes of bordering, the concept accommodates multifarious spheres (for example law, academia, activism, policymaking, media, etc.) and modalities of categorisation and differentiation (for example race/ethnicity, class, gender, citizenship, ability, productivity, etc.). To analyse the intersectionality of these practices, differential inclusion proposes to focus on the fact that all these practices deploy a differentiated set of subject positions to "selectively filter, differentiate, and include subjects in transit" (ibid., 189-90).

At the same time, differential inclusion constitutes an eminently political perspective on practices of bordering. Mezzadra and Neilson embrace the border as a method, as an "epistemological device", which "serves at once to make divisions and establish connections" (ibid., 16), which allows departing from a conception of borders as mere research objects. In this light, differential inclusion is a tool that can be used to understand *and* contest effects of in- and exclusion that are linked to the workings of global capitalism. Here, the influence of the perspective of autonomy is clearly visible.

In contrast to the concept of imperceptible politics, differential exclusion allows theorising instances of discursive bordering as necessarily encompassing autonomy and heteronomy. By scrutinising nested dimensions of inclusion and exclusion, it offers a dialectical perspective that allows to account for the heterogeneity of migrants' positioning: "irregularity emerges both as a produced condition and as a political stake in the politics of mobility" (Mezzadra 2011, 131). At the same time, the analytical focus on positioning makes it particularly interesting from a discourse analytical perspective.

While the two accounts that have been introduced in this part of the chapter contribute to a deeper understanding of discursive borders, some questions remain open. First and foremost, the relation between symbolic and material processes is still underspecified. Especially, it suffers from a limited understanding of excess that is only considered as an excess of reality, and not in terms of an excess of meaning that affects the frames of intelligibility of migration discourse. At the same time, there is a certain tension between a 'negative' perspective that rejects representation as essentially detrimental (*Escape Routes*), and a 'neutral' view that acknowledges the resulting subject positions as effects that can also be starting points for political interventions (*Border as Method*).

I propose to address both aspects in the remainder of this chapter by conceiving of bordering as a discursive practice that ambivalently intervenes in the relation between autonomy and heteronomy.

3. Bordering as Discursive Practice

> The fact that man lives in a conceptually structured environment does not prove that he has turned away from life, or that a historical drama has separated him from it – just that he lives in a certain way, that he has a relationship with his environment such that he has no set point of view toward it, that he is mobile on an undefined or a rather broadly defined territory, that he has to move around in order to gather information, that he has to move things relative to one another in order to make them useful. Forming concepts is a way of living and not a way of killing life; it is a way to live in a relative mobility and not a way to immobilize life; it is to show, among those billions of living beings that inform their environment and inform themselves on the basis of it, an innovation that can be judged as one likes, tiny or substantial: a very special type of information. (Foucault [1984] 1998, 478)

This reflection on concepts is taken from Foucault's introduction to an English edition of Georges Canguilhem's *The Normal and the Pathological* (Canguilhem [1966] 1989). With his groundbreaking work on the epistemology of the normal, Canguilhem – himself a philosopher, physician, and clandestine medic in the French Resistance – profoundly influenced French philosophy in the 1960s (see Roudinesco 2008; Peden 2014). For Canguilhem, the normal

> cannot be reduced to an objective concept determinable by scientific methods. Strictly speaking then, there is no biological science of the normal. There is a science of biological situations and conditions called normal. (Canguilhem [1966] 1989, 228)

It is not difficult to gauge the influence of this reasoning on Foucault (see Thompson 2008; Sabot 2009). From the beginning, his archaeological gaze had been directed to the myriad ways a conceptual apparatus makes life intelligible, and how different frames of perception are developed, layered, and erased over time. I propose to read

Foucault's reflections on conceptualisation not as a mere introduction to the work of one of the founding figures of French epistemology, but in terms of a comment on the French philosophical field of the 1960s, as well as a meta-comment on his own work.[18]

In this part of the chapter, I am concerned with the relation between discourse and the materiality of borders. I will develop a post-representationalist theory of discursive bordering, which helps to grasp practices of categorisation and differentiation in their complexity. In the spirit of Foucault's take on "forming concepts [as] a way of living (…) in a relative mobility" (Foucault [1984] 1998, 478), discourse theory makes it possible to theorise the relation between discourse, movements, and the materiality of borders. Additionally, it allows accounting for their inherent excess of meaning. Eminently contributing to the heterogeneity of contemporary borders, this dimension of excess is insufficiently addressed in Critical Migration Studies until now.

In the following, I propose to approach practices of discursive bordering from a fresh angle. Instead of assuming a logic of representation, I argue that their function is better described in terms of a discursive constitution. This reasoning is based on the works of Foucault ([1969] 2002) and Louis Althusser (1971), who can be regarded as major sources of inspiration for contemporary theorists of discourse (see for example Butler, Laclau, and Žižek 2000). The main argument that I put forward in the following section maintains that categorisation and differentiation constitute the very reality they pretend to 'represent'. As practices of constitution, discursive borders are not bound to the realm of language, but to discourse. Discursive practices of bordering involve power relations, which are addressed in the second section.

Discursive practices and the logic of constitution

Theorising discursive bordering against the background of a logic of constitution requires switching our perspective. In the light of Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* ([1969] 2002), discourse can no longer be seen as secondary process of representation that 'digests' *the* reality of a certain phenomenon (such as human mobility), but must be acknowledged in terms of a primary process that constitutes its *multiple* realities, its ambivalences in the first place.

[18] This piece is assumed to be the last manuscript Foucault had approved for publication before his early death in June 1984 (see Roudinesco 2008, 18).

In the following, I will explore the logic of constitution that animates Foucault's understanding of discourse. Against this background, discursive bordering can be theorised as a practice that borders the field of subject positions that interpellates people on the move. This resonates with Mezzadra and Neilson's take on differentiation as "diversification and bordering of migrants' subject positions" (2013, 164), which I have introduced above. In contrast to the approaches in Critical Migration Studies, however, a Foucaultian perspective allows putting special emphasis on the excess of meaning that infuses discursive borders.

For Foucault, discourse is more than 'language in use'. While this common-sense understanding relies on the empiricist distinction between 'material reality' and its 'representation', discourse for him is a practice that constitutes 'reality', and makes the world meaningful (intelligible) in the first place. In order to grasp this constitutive character, discourse analysis avoids

> treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to the language (*langue*) and to speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe. (Foucault [1969] 2002, 54)

Precisely because Foucault's conception of the discursive goes beyond language, it disrupts a binary distinction between materiality and representation. But to understand what exactly Foucault's '*more'* implies, we have to take a closer look at his conception of a system (the discursive formation) and its building blocks (utterances).

A discourse that constitutes a specific object can be described as a bundle of utterances that relate to this object. Discursive formations are dynamic, heterogeneous, and incomplete (see Angermüller 2013, 19–20). Because "[e]ach discourse undergoes constant change as new utterances are added to it" (Foucault 2005a: 54), a discursive formation implies a radically open system without predefined boundaries. It encompasses a heterogeneous ensemble of utterances that do not constitute a smooth, even surface. Rather, they are marked by contradictions that "are neither appearances to be overcome, nor secret principles to be uncovered", but "objects to be described for themselves" (Foucault [1969] 2002, 169). This de-centred and open system is

always in the making, and thus never complete. Closure can only be thought in terms of a snapshot from a specific perspective. Such an understanding matches perfectly with the de-centred, praxeological conception of a migration regime that is present in critical strands of migration theory.

Foucault's understanding of the discursive oscillates between a static and a dynamic pole. This is implied by the term form/ation and encapsulated in the double quality of utterances: Utterances are material facts (*énoncés*) that are materialised through the utterance act (*énonciation*). At once effect and activity, utterances are 'discourse(f)acts'. Their materiality "is constitutive of the [utterance] itself: a statement must have a substance, a support, a place, and a date. And when these requisites change, it too changes identity" (Foucault [1969] 2002, 113). Thus, the discursive functions in a highly contextual way.

Now, it becomes clear that Foucault's emphasis on the surplus of discourse relates to different aspects: discourse is always in excess, because it is radically dynamic, heterogeneous and incomplete. But it is also excessive because its statements never have a stable meaning. Instead, they open a field of possible meanings between their articulation by a certain subject, at a certain place, and at a certain time, and the context of this articulation. Discourse is marked by an excess of meaning that gives a certain leeway to the interpreting subject. In this way, Foucault's conception of discourse also involves an understanding of excess, albeit quite different from what I have introduced in the previous parts of this chapter. The encounter between the (materialist) excess of reality and the (discursive) excess of meaning will feed into my conception of the double excess of migration in the last part of this chapter.

What interests Foucault is not the accurateness of a description of the world, for example by asking whether concepts such as 'refugee' or 'labour migrant' accurately represent the lived reality of people on the move. Instead, he looks at how this world is made intelligible and lived *through* discourse (e.g., by asking which version of reality results from the use of these concepts in a specific context). For this understanding, the notion of context is paramount.

Far from guaranteeing a univocal conception of its object (for example migration), a discursive formation assembles a multiplicity of possible conceptualisations (for example migration as a problem, as an economic resource, or, as in the theory of the

autonomy of migration, a social movement and struggle). Conceptual signifiers (such as 'refugee') or utterances ('It's enough!') have a highly contextual meaning. Thus, the same signifiers obtain a different meaning, depending on the context they are deployed in (for example a self-organised refugee struggle, or a stigmatising newspaper piece).

Because some of these conceptualisations are dominant, the discursive is necessarily a hierarchical space. It materially constrains discourse participants through the way the world is made intelligible, and the way it can be (re-)articulated in turn. However, in the light of the de-centred nature of the discursive formation, discursive practices are not

> the expressive operation by which an individual formulates an idea, a desire, an image; nor (…) the rational activity that may operate in a system of inference; nor (…) the 'competence' of a speaking subject when he constructs grammatical sentences; it is a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function. (Foucault [1969] 2002, 131)

Against the background of the discursive logic of constitution, subjects are *effects* of discursive practices. This understanding is animated by a shift from the modern, Cartesian subject as *cogito* to a decentred subject as an ongoing discourse-effect. Throughout Foucault's theoretical edifice, subjectivity forms a central concern. This is also true for the *Archaeology*, even if it might not be visible at first glance. In the spirit of Émile Benveniste's saying that "[i]t is in and through language that man constitutes himself as a subject" ([1966] 1971, 224), Foucault refuses to qualify discourse as

> the majestically unfolding manifestation of a thinking, knowing, speaking subject, but, on the contrary, a totality, in which the dispersion of the subject and his discontinuity with himself may be determined. It is a space of exteriority in which a network of distinct sites is deployed. (Foucault [1969] 2002, 60)

These sites (*emplacements*) are the subject positions of a discourse. Utterance is not an act of allocation, but opens up "a set of possible positions for a subject" (ibid., 122).

"It is a particular, vacant place that may in fact be filled by different individuals" (ibid., 107). Returning to Benveniste, subject positions are

> 'empty' forms which each speaker, in the exercise of discourse, appropriates to himself and which he relates to his person, at the same time defining himself as I and a partner as you. (Benveniste 1971, 227)

Discourse analysis is not concerned with "the relations between the author and what he says (or wanted to say, or said without wanting to); but [with] determining what position can and must be occupied by any individual if he is to be the subject of it" (Foucault [1969] 2002, 107). The subject positions of a discourse can be seen as forming a "matrix of intelligibility" (Butler 1990, 174). Subject of 'a' discourse can only become who identifies with, and invests in such positions. Unfortunately, Foucault is rather implicit on how his understanding of subjectivity as discourse-effect is compatible with the material conception of utterances as 'discourse(f)acts', which "must have a substance, a support, a place, and a date" (Foucault [1969] 2002, 113). If a discursive formation is a bundle of related utterances that produce subjects, how are they constituted in the first place? [19]

Althusser's seminal essay on *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (1971) helps to clarify this question by introducing the crucial distinction between individuals and subjects. By transferring Althusser's argument from the plane of ideology to the plane of discourse[20], discourse can be seen as interpellating "concrete individuals as concrete subjects" (ibid., 173). Discourse (or ideology)

> 'recruits' subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or 'transforms' the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called interpellation or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: 'Hey, you there!' Assuming that the theoretical scene I have imagined takes place in the street, the hailed individual will turn round. By this mere one-hundred-and-eighty-degree physical conversion, he becomes a subject. (Althusser 1971, 174)

[19] Against Foucault's and Benveniste's systematic use of the masculine form, it must be stated that female, trans, and non-binary subjects obviously take part in this process as well. The gendered discourse of theory is an excellent example for discursive processes of in- and exclusion.

[20] This is possible because Foucault and Althusser are interested in the relation "between enunciative places defined by the abstract enunciative space on which the discourse is operating, and the practical places in the social and psychological space of the speaker and the hearer" (Williams 1999, 186).

Because it provides a vivid example for the constitution of subjects through discourse, the reception of Althusser's argument is frequently reduced to this allegorical scene. However, it is important to complement it with a second example to appreciate the theory of interpellation in its full quality. For Althusser, "individuals are always already subjects" (ibid., 173), even before they are born. For every new born infant, a field of subject positions is waiting, which is for example predetermined by social circumstances of the family (e.g., class, citizenship-status) or heteronormative and patriarchal gender relations in society. The baby is born into these positions, it is a "former subject-to-be [*ancien futur-sujet*; VS]" (ibid., 176).

With Foucault and Althusser, the relation between subject and discourse can be described as co-constitutive. As Martin Nonhoff and Jennifer Gronau put it,

> [d]iscourses are holding subject positions as those places where individuals can meaningfully enter discourse as subjects through articulation; with their articulations subjects are not only emerging in discourse, but also perpetuate the discourse and the relational networks of subject positions, which in turn are offered as possible places of subjectivation. (Nonhoff and Gronau 2012, 123; my translation)

However, discursive bordering must not be understood in terms of a straightforward, top-down allocation of a fixed place that cannot be changed. This functionalist understanding[21] would obscure the complexity of the relation between power and subjectivation.

Discourse, power, and resistance

Indeed, being interpellated can provide the immediate ground for contesting the form and material effects of the very process of positioning. In the following, I will scrutinise the relations between discourse, power, and resistance to theorise discursive bordering as a practice that is infused with power from the outset.

[21] Althusser has been repeatedly accused of a functionalism, which allegedly can only conceive of subjects as passive pawns of ideology (see Thompson 1995 for a prominent example). I believe that Althusser's theory is much more nuanced than his critics argue. This becomes neatly visible in his later work, but also in a recent edition that puts the ISA essay in its original context (Althusser 2014). However, Althusser's work is inherently flawed by a lack of reflection on reproductive labour and coloniality, which has not stopped feminists (see Power 2017) and post-colonial theorists (see Bosteels 2017) from appropriating his concepts.

Discursive formations and processes of subjectivation are highly dynamic. Ultimately, the becoming of a subject is only possible through a temporary closure, an act of bordering. "Identities", writes Stuart Hall, "are points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us. They are the result of a successful articulation or 'chaining' of the subject into the flow of the discourse" (Hall 1996, 6). Hall's use of the chain metaphor points to the fact that subjectivation involves a hierarchy.

Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* is a first-hand account of the power relations of subjectivation. He describes the racist interpellations he experiences as "suffocating reifications": "(…) 'Dirty *N**[22]!' or simply 'Look! A *N**!': The data I used were provided (...) by the Other, the white man, who had woven me out of a thousand details, anecdotes, and stories" (Fanon 2008, 91). Fanon's experience is a situated theory of the radical asymmetry between the interpellating and the interpellated subject. It is anchored in a colonial discourse that constitutes the position of the white in difference to the black subject. Thereby, the enunciative privilege (the power to define, identify, and border) is assigned to the former. This is what Walter Mignolo (2005), inspired by Edward Said (2003) and perfectly consistent with Foucault's enunciative understanding of discourse, calls the "locus of enunciation" of "Occidentalism":

> The geo- and body politics of knowledge were hidden and sublimated into an abstract universal coming from God or from the transcendental ego. Consequently, the geo-politics and body politics of knowledges that unfolded from the borders of imperial experiences in the colonies (that is, imperial/colonial experiences) offer not only a new and distinct epistemology (i.e., border epistemology), but also a perspective from which to analyze the limits of the regional universalizing of understanding based on both theology and egology (i.e., theo- and ego-politics of knowledge). The overall classification and ranking of the world do not just reveal a reality out there, in the world, that they reflect, like in a mirror. They also hide the fact that such classification and ranking are valid only from a 'given perspective' or locus of enunciation – the geo-historical and bio-graphical experience of the knowing subject of the philosophical principles of theology, the historical experiences of Western Christians, and the way of looking at the world as a male. (Mignolo 2005, 16–17)

[22] In Fanon's original text, the N-word is written out. I have decided to substitute it with N*, both to avoid a (re-)articulation of racism and mark its extreme violence.

Similar to Fanon's work, Mignolo's argument resonates beyond its original subject matter (even though, in both cases, it is also directly relevant for migration research). The notions of border epistemology and locus of enunciation enable us to think the relation of discourse and power more broadly. In this light, discursive practices of bordering can be seen as relying on border epistemologies that furnish the concepts for identification and classification. Because these practices are both enabled by, and bound to a certain locus of enunciation, they restrict the power of definition to certain subjects.

More than a mere point of origin for utterances, a locus of enunciation induces a specific perspective that is necessarily limited (because it hinders grasping the world differently) and limiting (because it denies access to the locus of enunciation for subjects who are seen as 'not belonging'). Far from being relevant for racist or colonial discourse alone, I argue that these are core features of heavily hierarchised discursive formations. Thus, they are highly instructive to theorise the power relations that characterise discursive practices of bordering. Similar to Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsiano's (2008) take on representation, which I have introduced in the previous section, these examples highlight the oppressive quality of subjectivation. However, this is only one dimension of the complex, sometimes even paradoxical workings of power.

Judith Butler has dedicated a whole book to a genealogy of the "paradox of subjection" (Butler 1997, 4). Foucault's famous assertion "[w]here there is power, there is resistance" perfectly summarises this paradox. For him, "this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault 1978, 95). In the following, I will point out three different discursive practices of resistance that encapsulate this paradox: alternative imaginations, refusal of the scene of enunciation, and subversion.

Alternative imaginations can be thought of along the lines of Mignolo's conception of bordering. While the occidental border-epistemology is clearly dominant, it is also necessarily limited because it remains bound to its locus of enunciation. Conversely, this opens up a space for alternative, de-colonial imaginations of the world, which decentre the dominant (occidentalist) perspective by contesting their power of definition.

In *Plantation Memories – Episodes of Everyday Racism* (2008), Grada Kilomba offers a powerful example for a second discursive strategy of resistance: refusal. It helps a violently interpellated subject to escape from the cage of racist representation:

> [T]he *white* subject asks and the Black subject answers, the *white* subject requests and the Black subject explains, the *white* subject demands and the Black subject elucidates. (...) By not answering, Alicia [an interviewee in Kilomba's study; VS] removes herself from that colonial scene and in doing so, sets new boundaries in her relationship to the *white* other. (Kilomba 2008, 149)

In this specific case, bordering is a strategy of resistance against the asymmetry of a specific scene of enunciation: "As everyday racism is invasive, it seems that it is the setting of boundaries that leads to one's own decolonization, not the explanation" (Kilomba 2008, 150). While bordering is a crucial feature of subjectivation, which is based on and reproduces a hierarchical relation, its logic can be reversed. In Kilomba's example, this happens by rejecting a pre-structured scene of enunciation (similar to the scene described by Fanon) with a specific arrangement of active (dominant) and passive (subordinated) positions. To frame it with the allegory of interpellation, the interpellated subject refuses to turn around.

A third strategy of resistance is enabled by the ambivalent and highly contextual character of subject positions: subversion. In Butler's argument, the paradoxical quality of power is strikingly visible:

> To be hailed as a 'woman' or 'Jew' or 'queer' or 'Black' or 'Chicana' may be heard or interpreted as an affirmation or an insult, depending on the context in which the hailing occurs (where context is the effective historicity and spatiality of the sign). If that name is called, there is more often than not some hesitation about whether or how to respond, for what is at stake is whether the temporary totalization performed by the name is politically enabling or paralyzing, whether the foreclosure, indeed the violence, of the totalizing reduction of identity performed by that particular hailing is politically strategic or regressive or, if paralyzing and regressive, also enabling in some way. (Butler 1997, 96)

Essentially, the discursive conception of subjectivation is infused with a relational and contextual understanding of power. Power relations are formally visible in specific scenes of enunciation (who is holding the power of definition and articulation?), and

are anchored in a broader discourse, which induces border epistemologies and specific loci of enunciation.

Against the background of the logic of constitution, discursive bordering can be defined as a discursive practice that consists of countless acts of categorisation and differentiation. Scattered over time and space, these practices are de-centred and do not necessarily follow a common logic. However, they intersect on the level of a migration regime, which contains a discursive grid with dynamic and heterogeneous subject positions. This grid simultaneously enables and limits the subjectivation of moving individuals. For example, those who are physically moving from point *a* to *b* are constituted as 'refugees', 'labour migrants', or 'tourists' only through a discourse that furnishes a conceptualisation of these forms of movement (and their differentiation). Thus, we can say that 'migrant' subjects are *effects* of discourse. Importantly, this understanding does neither imply that individuals – as embodied, speaking beings – do not 'exist' outside of language, nor does it result in a definite, inevitable act of allocation.

Discursive practices of bordering are marked by an asymmetrical power relation that relies on border epistemologies (for example the differentiation between 'labour migrants' and 'refugees', or 'forced' and 'voluntary' migration), which are bound to specific loci of enunciation. By prestructuring enunciative spaces, the privilege of enunciation (and therefore the power to define, classify, or differentiate) is *primarily* assigned to certain subjects (for example researchers, border guards, or policymakers). At the same time, power constitutes the immediate ground for resistance. Moving individuals can contest, refuse, or subvert discursive borders. And ultimately, discursive bordering can fail or even provide a firm ground for resistance.

Until now, I have explored how approaches in Critical Migration Studies (regime theory, autonomy of migration, and differential inclusion) and Discourse Studies ('French' theories of discourse) contribute to our understanding of discursive bordering. Both strands of theory crucially rely on the diagnosis of an excess, which is alternatively conceived of in terms of an excess of reality (in Critical Migration Studies), and an excess of meaning (in discourse theory). In the following, I will specify the relation between these two dimensions by developing the concept of the double excess of borders and migration.

4. The Double Excess of Borders and Migration

The relation between borders and movements is marked by a deep heterogeneity, an inherent excess. As I have shown in the above discussion, this excess can alternatively be conceived in terms of a surplus of *reality* (of the movements and struggles of migration, but also of the bureaucratic rationality and the brutality of contemporary border regimes) or a surplus of *meaning* around migration (the ambivalence of migration discourse).

In this part, I develop a framework that allows to account for both dimensions of excess. I argue that borders and mobility are constituted as social and political realities in the midst of a friction between the excesses of reality and meaning. Thus, grasping what I call the *double excess* of borders and migration requires reading *excess* across the theories discussed in this chapter. This will provide me with an understanding of borders that goes beyond the dichotomy of discourse and materiality.

While both Critical Migration and Discourse Studies offer unique perspectives on material and discursive borders, their proponents are also quite effective in drawing borders themselves. Epistemological in nature, borders that serve to demarcate different theoretical camps often have effects that are diametrically opposite to any critical impetus. However, the relations between materialism, discourse analysis, psychoanalysis, linguistics, and phenomenology are infinitely more complex than such attempts of demarcation might suggest. Some of this complexity already became apparent in what has been discussed above (also see Roudinesco 2008; Peden 2014; Lundborg and Vaughan-Williams 2015; Beetz and Schwab 2017b, 2017c).

But apart from its intellectually limiting consequences, practices of bordering in the field of theory constitute a political problem. To quote the feminist Sandra Harding,

> [c]oherent theories in an obviously incoherent world are either silly and uninteresting or oppressive and problematic, depending on the degree of hegemony they manage to achieve. Coherent theories in an apparently coherent world are even more dangerous, for the world is always more complex than such unfortunately hegemonous theories can grasp. (Harding 1986, 164)

In this spirit, the following argument follows a slightly different path. Beyond a mechanical articulation of (allegedly) distinct theoretical literatures to think through the relation between ‘reality’ and ‘meaning’, I propose to depart from the common

intellectual heritage of materialist and discursive approaches, which is not always visible on their textual surface. In this way, the ever-returning question of the relation between discursivity and materiality – that often ends in an unsatisfying exercise of mutual nit-picking and self-affirmation – can be addressed from a 'fresh' (and yet quite 'old') perspective. Taking Harding's warning seriously and proceeding in accordance with the general spirit of my research, I propose to acknowledge borders and apparent incoherencies as indicators of complexity.

The double excess in the Cahiers pour l'analyse

While the term is not used, the idea of a double excess around 'reality' and 'meaning' is very much present in the theoretical encounter between materialism and psychoanalysis in the 1960s. Historically, it materialised in a series of seminars in Paris and articles in the journal *Cahiers pour l'analyse* [23] by a group of researchers gravitating around Althusser and Jacques Lacan (see Hallward, Balibar, and Duroux 2012). Foucault here developed what would later result in the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault 1968, [1969] 2002) and animate his understanding of discourse and subjectivity. Broadly speaking, this discussion can be seen as a founding moment for 'French' Discourse Analysis, and reveals the theoretical influence of Marxist theories on what was later dubbed 'post-structuralist' theorising.[24] In this section, I will first contrast the materialist with the psychoanalytic understanding of excess, and mediate between the two by resorting to the concept of 'suture' (stitching) in a second step.

For materialist conceptions of excess, Althusser's ([1962] 2005) theory of overdetermination is a prominent point of reference. Indeed, both the understanding of excess that animates critical migration theory (and, above all, the autonomy of migration), as well as its limitations are visible here. Althusser proposed the concept of overdetermination to move beyond the economist reductionism of the 'fundamental contradiction' in materialist theories and Marxist politics. It allows the theorising of the mutual constitution and determination of a bundle of contradictions located in

[23] All contributions have recently been made available online (http://cahiers.kingston.ac.uk) and scrutinised in (Hallward and Peden 2012a, 2012b).

[24] On the problematic nature of this label (which is not really used in France) see (Angermuller 2015).

different spheres (for example economy, state, ideology, law, or politics), instead of positing 'class' as a single variable explaining the political status-quo and providing a horizon for political change.[25] Essentially, Althusser invites us to acknowledge the *excess of reality* that marks social and political phenomena. For his theory of overdetermination, Althusser drew terminological and conceptual inspiration from Freudian psychoanalysis.

In Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* ([1900] 2010), however, overdetermination refers to the ambiguity of images that appear in a dream. The manifest content of a dream is overdetermined, because it condenses the (excessive) latent content – the dream-thoughts (ibid., 296-99). This condensation is necessarily 'imperfect', because it involves a (psychological) force of displacement (ibid., 324). Here, overdetermination refers to an excess of *meaning* of the manifest content of a dream.

Since Freud, psychoanalytic theorising has undergone a thorough reworking. The discussion on 'suture' is particularly relevant here, for it allows to mediate between the two dimensions of excess. 'Suture' (stitching) was originally evoked by Lacan, but only became theorised in a systematic way in the *Cahiers pour l'analyse* (Miller 1966, 1968). Later, it found a broader resonance in semiotic film theory (see Oudart 1977; Heath 1977).

In his essay on suture, Slavoj Žižek (2012) traces the trajectory of the concept and addresses some theoretical limitations. In film theory, the concept is read in an Althusserian way. Suture is regarded as the process by which the (overdetermined) field of ideology gets closed and misrecognised "as a seamless continuity" (ibid., 165). Here, suture is masking overdetermination by placing a Subject (e.g., God, humanity, consciousness…) in the centre,

> producing the effect of self-enclosure with no need for an exterior, effacing the traces of its own production. In this way, traces of the production process, its gaps, its mechanisms, are obliterated, so that the product can appear as a naturalized organic whole. (ibid., 165)

Related to the question at stake in my work, this amounts to a situation in which different conceptualisations of migration – for example 'labour' versus 'refugee'

[25] This more complex understanding of contradiction made Althusser's theories attractive for Marxist feminists (see for example Hennessy 1993; Sharp 2000).

migration are bordered and presented as self-evident, quasi-natural categorisations, which can be applied in a straightforward way. At the same time, the way these conceptualisations are produced and bordered is obfuscated.

For Žižek, this conception is limited, because it is based on a (logocentric) distinction between presence and representation, with excess being only assigned to the former. For him, any idea of a "pure presence (...) that remains irreducible to and in excess with regard to the network of philosophical concepts and means of representation" results in "a mirror-concept of representation" (ibid., 156), thus reproducing what it seeks to abandon. Žižek shows that this understanding of suture is animated by the assumption of a 'true reality' that only needs to be uncovered. However, such a conception would no less be predicated on a logic of representation.

To escape the vicious circle of representation, Žižek points to the Lacanian understanding of suture in the *Cahiers*, which resonates with Freud's original conception of overdetermination. Here,

> 'suture' means that external difference is always an internal one, that the external limitation of a field of phenomena always reflects itself within this field, as its inherent impossibility to fully become itself. (Žižek 2012, 157)

As a consequence,

> [w]e pass from the excess with regard to the field of representation (the excess of that which eludes representation) to the excess of representation itself, i.e., to representation itself as an excess with regard to what it represents. (Ibid., 161)

Topologically speaking, this understanding of excess abandons the binary understanding of the border in terms of a dividing line between a clearly delimited inside and outside. Instead, it resonates with the topology of a moebius strip (see figure 1). Central to the work of Lacan, the figure that is named after the mathematician August Ferdinand Möbius

> subverts our normal (Euclidean) way of representing space, for it seems to have two sides but in fact has only one. Locally, at any one point, two sides can be clearly distinguished, but when the whole strip is traversed it becomes clear that they are in fact continuous. (Encyclopedia of Lacanian Psychoanalysis 2007)

Figure 1 Moebius strip (Artwork: Julia Serdarov)

For Žižek the Althusserian and Lacanian understandings of excess are ultimately incompatible. By contrast, I argue that the continuous space of the topology allows to articulate the two positions. While distinctions between inside and outside can be made from any local point (the Althusserian dimension), they are ultimately exceeded by the continuity of the strip that disrupts the distinction (the Lacanian dimension). This allows acknowledging the relevance of spatially situated perceptions of borders, while being aware of their inherent possibility of failure at the same time.

With the help of the Marxist discourse analyst Michel Pêcheux, we can conceive of suture as a concept that mediates between two dimensions of excess:

> that of the manipulation of stabilized significations, normalized by a pedagogical hygiene of thought, and that of the transformation of meaning escaping from all a priori assignable norms, the work of meaning on meaning, grasped in an indefinite 'rebirth' of interpretations. The frontier between the two fields is difficult to determine in that there exists a whole intermediate zone of discursive processes (related to the juridical, the administrative, and to the conventions of daily life) oscillating around it. And it is in this intermediary discursive region that the logical properties of objects cease to function: objects both have and do not have such and such a property; events both have and have not occurred according to the discursive constructions within which the statements that support these objects and events are found to be inscribed. (Pêcheux 1988, 646)

Thus, migration is constituted as a social and political reality in the midst of a friction between two dimensions of excess, which form a relation of reciprocal overdetermination.

The double excess of borders and migration

Critical border theorists have already pointed to the analytical usefulness of 'suture' (see Salter 2012) or of the topological metaphor of the moebius strip (see Vaughan-Williams 2009, 101) to grasp the intricacies and inherent heterogeneity of contemporary borders. In the following, I will condense the different understandings of discursive bordering that have been explored so far.

Against the background of the double excess, discursive practices of bordering can be theorised as interventions aimed at halting the proliferation of meaning, as bordering a material-discursive space of ambivalence. At the same time, meaning is only achieved temporarily, and always already confronted with its inherent precariousness. In the encounter between the excess of meaning and the excess of reality, the incorrigibility of migration meets the ambivalence of migration discourse. What comes to the fore in this understanding is the entanglement of the material and the discursive aspects of borders and movements. Indeed, both can be described as material-discursive practices.

Physical movements (and, we might add, stasis) both provide the ground for, and are made intelligible through, practices of symbolisation. Because the resulting symbolisations (for example categories or differentiations) are marked by an excess of meaning, they ambivalently enable and constrain individuals that are in their focus. At the same time, certain portions of 'reality' *do not* enter the realm of the symbolic, because they cannot or are prevented from being made intelligible (or bordered). Here, we are confronted with a second dimension of excess, which is unspeakable, unbearable, or imperceptible from the perspective of dominant regimes of symbolisation. Yet again, not being containable by such a regime can both have enabling and constraining effects for those who are not in the focus of symbolisation. In contrast to 'reality' understood as a discursive construction that is meaningful from a specific perspective and in a specific context, this dimension of excess is better described as a 'Real' that evades processes of symbolisation.

My formulation of the double excess relies on the distinction between the Real, the Symbolic, and the Imaginary in Lacanian psychoanalysis. According to Ian Parker, this conceptual triad helps "to sidestep a simple distinction between what lies 'inside' and what lies 'outside' discourse":

> While the Symbolic corresponds quite neatly to the sphere of mediated social exchange (…), the Imaginary is somewhat more of a Janus-faced concept. On the one hand it has allegiance to the realm of narcissistic and rivalrous identifications with others (…). On the other hand it operates as a certain mode of interaction, in which relations of similarity and opposition are reproduced, and here it is of use to discourse analysis. (…) The Real is not a realm 'outside' discourse that can be identified and described, but it is something that operates at a point of breakdown of representation, at a point of trauma or shock that is then rapidly covered over in order that it can be spoken of. Those points in a text that indicate something unspeakable, something 'unrepresentable', can be interpreted as points of encounter with the Real, and this is the closest we can speak of something 'outside discourse'. (Parker 2014, 42)

However, as emphasised by Yannis Stavrakakis, any conception of the Real is predicated upon the existence of the Symbolic, and on its inherent excess of meaning more specifically:

> If the Real is defined as that which resists symbolisation, this is because we can indeed experience the failure of symbolisation to master it. If the question is: 'How do we know that the Real resists symbolisation in the first place?', the answer must be: 'Exactly because this resistance, this limit of symbolisation, is shown within the level of symbolisation itself.' (…) The limits of every discursive structure (of the conscious articulation of meaning, for example), the limits dividing the discursive from the extra-discursive, can only be shown in relation to this same discursive structure (through the subversion of its meaning). (Stavrakakis 2007, 10–11)

This interjection is important, because it prevents us from conceiving of the Real in terms of a distinct dimension of materiality that can be grasped outside of symbolic and ideological constraints.

What I call the double excess of material-discursive practices is illustrated in figure 2:

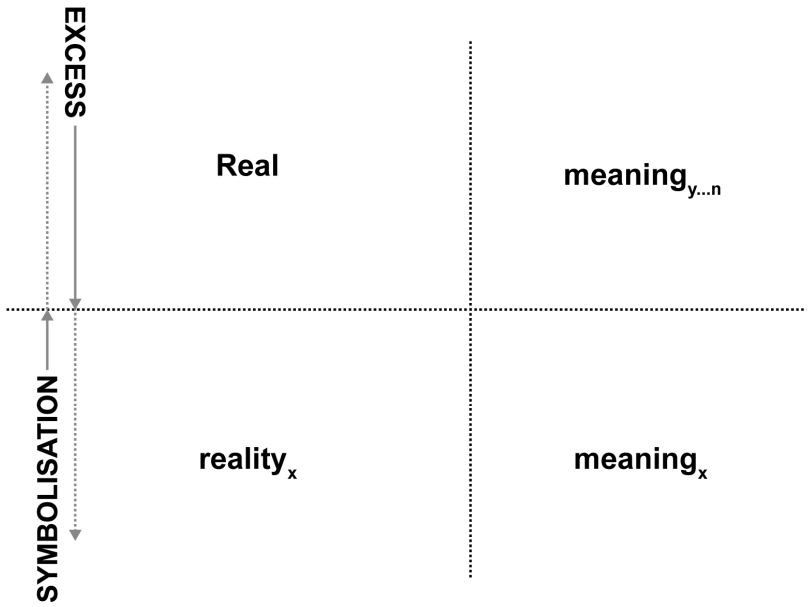

Figure 2 The double excess of material-discursive practices.

As shown above, a specific construction of reality$_x$ is related to the construction of a meaning$_x$ in a specific context, and bound to a set of bordered subject positions that concede more or less enunciative privilege. The stability of symbolic constructions is always already undermined by the excess of the Real, and a whole range of alternative meanings$_{y...n}$, that we might call the Real of language. Practices of symbolisation (discursive bordering is one of them) constantly invade the space of excess in order to either exclude its troubling presence from their space, or to include it by making it conform to more or less stable frames of intelligibility.

In the light of the double excess, an emancipatory horizon does not necessarily unfold in gaps that are conceived along the lines of a discourse/materiality dichotomy, or in endless battles that assert the analytical superiority of a specific 'representation' of 'reality'. Instead, it emerges in the midst of a friction between the planes of excess and symbolisation, in those moments in which symbolisation is evaded by the excess of the Real, and vice versa. This implies that the planes of symbolisation and excess are neither mutually exclusive nor directly corresponding, but marked by a relation of dislocation.

To borrow a notion of Basil B. Bernstein, these moments of friction constitute "potential discursive gaps", which are

> the site for the unthinkable, the site of the impossible, and this site can clearly be both beneficial and dangerous at the same time". They are "(…) the meeting point of order and disorder, of coherence and incoherence (…) the crucial site of the *yet to be thought*. (Bernstein 2000, 30)

At this point, it becomes clear that the implications of the double excess reach far beyond the level of theory. Indeed, it creates a serious ethical and methodological challenge. Ethically (and politically) speaking, we can ask how research should handle such gaps, and whether critical scholars can help to develop a *yet to be thought* that unsettles discursive borders in solidarity with the movements of migration. And from a methodological point of view, research on discursive practices of bordering needs to proceed from within a reflexive methodological framework, which allows accounting for the ambivalences of discursive borders and the situated, contextual quality of categorisation and differentiation.

Who is a border guard?

As long as we produce knowledge on migration, we either rearticulate existing, or draw new, discursive boundaries. On a very basic level, we are all border guards. More practically speaking, we need to resort to 'established' categories to think and talk about migration in a meaningful way. In this respect, it is impossible not to be a discursive border guard in (and beyond) Migration Studies, whether we conceive of our research as critical or not. However, this dilemma can be addressed by explicitly assuming the responsibility for the practices of bordering we are involved in.

Establishing an ethics and politics of responsibility requires us to account for discursive practices of bordering that intervene in the double excess of migration. Regarding the first dimension of excess (the overdetermination of the movements of migration), this can be done by locating claims of a logical independence of research objects and subjects from constitutive discourses. These practices of bordering can be unsettled by showing from which position they are enunciated, which perspectives are privileged, and which alternative representations and imaginations of a given concept

are masked. By scrutinising the political conditions and effects of academic research, we can dismantle the myth of its 'neutrality'.

However, the second dimension of excess (the overdetermination of migration discourse) requires us to accept the limitations of this endeavour: Because there is no absolute point of reference that guarantees stable meaning, any judgement about the regressive or emancipatory value of a category or differentiation must account for its contextual quality. If it fails to do so, it risks becoming *another* practice of discursive bordering, which is closing the space of the intelligible from what is conceived of as a 'critical position'. In the worst case, such a practice can – against all good intentions – limit people's power of definition and constrain acts of contestation that are potentially based on established borders.

For researchers with the intention to locate and unsettle discursive borders, the resulting situation can be frustrating. They need to navigate a difficult territory, governed by ideologies of totalisation on the one, and relativism on the other side. Haraway's work on 'situated knowledges' helps to conceive of an ethical approach beyond this impasse by reflecting on the relationship between knowledge production, solidarity, and responsibility:

> The alternative to relativism is partial, locatable, critical knowledges sustaining the possibility of webs of connections called solidarity in politics and shared conversations in epistemology. Relativism is a way of being nowhere while claiming to be everywhere equally. The 'equality' of positioning is a denial of responsibility and critical inquiry. Relativism is the perfect mirror twin of totalization in the ideologies of objectivity; both deny the stakes in location, embodiment, and partial perspective; both make it impossible to see well. Relativism and totalization are both 'god tricks' promising vision from everywhere and nowhere equally and fully, common myths in rhetorics surrounding Science. (Haraway 1988, 584)

Haraway's call for responsibility and solidarity provides an important starting point for developing reflexive methods and tools for a qualitative analysis of discursive borders in the following chapter. Such an approach needs to place a concern for the heterogeneity of discursive borders alongside the ethical and political implications of research.

At the same time, theory itself becomes a situated discursive practice, which continuously transforms its positions and assumptions in the research process. Thus,

the theoretical framework developed here cannot be regarded as a self-contained entity that is mechanically applied to a research 'object'. Instead, it is a 'living and breathing' body that is brought into a playful[26] conversation with the social and political realities it tries to make sense of. In this spirit, the relation between theory, method, and analysis is better described as a continuous movement, instead of a linear application. This also implies that theorising does not end here, but forms an ongoing concern throughout the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have developed a theoretical framework for my research project by combining theories from Critical Migration Studies and Discourse Studies. This framework allows conceiving of discursive practices of bordering in their complexity by providing several theoretical concepts. Five of them are particularly important, and will be used throughout this thesis: *regime*, *autonomy of migration*, *differential inclusion*, *discursive practice*, and *double excess*.

Discursive practices of bordering can be located in a *border and migration regime*, which forms the space of continuous, de-centralised encounters between movements and control. A regime encompasses practices of coordination, negotiation, and contestation with different degrees of intentionality, formalisation and standardisation.

Against the background of the *autonomy of migration*, which emphasises the sociability and struggles of migration, discursive borders can be theorised in their ambivalence. They contain the excess that is inherent in the movements of migration through a *differential inclusion* of mobile subjectivities. In this dialectical view, discursive bordering ambivalently enables autonomy and heteronomy.

As a *discursive practice*, bordering is characterised by a logic of constitution: practices of categorisation and differentiation do not merely represent a stable reality of migration, but constitute its multiple and heterogeneous realities by making it intelligible. Thus, the excess of migration is twofold: a surplus of reality around migration encounters the surplus of migration discourse. This is reflected in relations

[26] In his work, Mihai Spariosu (1989) shows that play and an aesthetic dimension have been fundamental elements of philosophical and scientific discourse since the end of the 18th century.

and practices of power, privilege, and resistance. Again, discursive bordering becomes legible as encompassing moments of autonomy and heteronomy.

For my research, I have developed the concept of the *double excess of borders and migration*. This allows grasping discursive bordering as a practice that intervenes in the encounter between the surplus of reality and the surplus of meaning. By questioning the theoretical boundaries between materialist and post-structuralist strands of theory, the notion of the double excess enables scrutinising bordering as a *material-discursive* process.

In the following chapter, I am going to introduce methods and tools for the analysis of EUrope's discursive borders, which permit handling their heterogeneity in a reflexive way.

Chapter 2: Methods and Tools for a Materialist Discourse Analysis

Today, discourse analysis is a prominent methodological choice across the SSH. This is indicated by the publication of comprehensive handbooks (see Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton 2003; Angermuller, Maingueneau, and Wodak 2014b; Angermuller et al. 2014; Richardson and Flowerdew 2017) and dictionaries (see Charaudeau and Maingueneau 2002; Wrana et al. 2014), which consolidate Discourse Studies as a transdisciplinary field. In this chapter, I will develop methods and tools for the qualitative analysis of discursive borders. To this end, I re-articulate enunciative pragmatics (Angermuller 2014a) with its beginnings in materialist strands of 'French' discourse analysis (Althusser et al. [1965] 2015; Courtine 1981; Conein et al. 1981b; Pêcheux [1975] 1982; also see Beetz and Schwab 2017c). This allows developing a materialist approach to discourse that is consistent with the theoretical framework introduced in the previous chapter. Because discursive practices of bordering form a heterogeneous object that is scattered in time and space, they can only be analysed with a perspective that cuts across different spatial and temporal contexts.

With my take on discourse analysis, I propose to bridge three distinctions that are commonly made in Discourse Studies: the separation between theory and methodology, micro and macro, as well as empirical analysis and critical reflexivity (see Angermuller 2017, 153–56). In my materialist take, enunciative pragmatics scrutinises discursive practices of bordering in their heterogeneity, and on different levels of analysis (that is, through macro, micro, and situated perspectives). In this way, discourse analysis becomes a critical and reflexive method. I conceive of its analytical practice as a continuous movement between theory, methods, and object. Crucially, this involves seeing discourse analysis itself as a highly discursive endeavour, which takes discourse participants seriously as producers of situated knowledges and theories. To Critical Migration Studies, this contributes a systematic and reflexive method that allows to analyse borders in their material-discursive complexity, while also being compatible with its materialist and 'interventionist' underpinnings.

In Migration Studies, discourse is increasingly used as a theoretical and heuristic frame. However, this has neither led to a reflection on the relevance of Discourse Studies for Migration Studies, nor to a systematic discussion of discourse analysis as a qualitative method for migration research (also see chapter 1, 29ff.). In a special issue on research methodologies in Refugee Studies (Voutira and Dona 2007), discourse only surfaces in an article on narrative methods (Eastmond 2007). Here, it serves as a rather loose conceptual notion that privileges the communicative dimension of language. A similar understanding is present in Antoine Pécoud's (2014) work on the role of narratives for the global governance of migration. While the volume *International Migration Research* (Bommes and Morawska 2005) covers different disciplines, its chapter on the relation between Sociology and Linguistics is limited to the problem of language acquisition and use in migrant communities (Bommes and Maas 2005). The edited volumes *Methodologies on the Move* (Amelina, Faist, and Nergiz 2013) and *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration* (Vargas-Silva 2012) do not systematically assess methods at the intersection of language, politics, and society. However, the latter contains a chapter on qualitative methods (Iosifides 2012; also see Iosifides 2011). In Theodoros Iosifides's work, 'constructivist-' and 'post-structuralist discourse analysis' are lumped together with 'ethnography' and 'qualitative interviews'. Used as a punch bag to denounce a perceived 'methodological relativism' in migration research, they serve as a backdrop to promote a critical realist framework. Beyond a questionable tendency of simplification, it is debatable whether such a 'negative' approach offers a suitable introduction, or can replace a critical appraisal of discourse analysis in its own right.

Overall, there seems to be a certain hesitancy to fully embrace discourse analysis as a method for (Critical) Migration Studies. Importantly, this does not imply that no methodologically sound discourse-analytical research on migration is conducted. Rather, it seems that methodological discussions from Discourse Studies (where migration is a popular subject – see introduction, 11f.) are not sufficiently noticed in Migration Studies. This lack of reception is problematic, because it ignores recent methodological advances of discourse analysis, and leads to an understanding of discourse that either privileges its theoretical or communicative dimension. In a problematic way, the latter understanding obfuscates the performative and constitutive character of discourse, and replicates the colloquial use of the term.

The transdisciplinary field of Discourse Studies is characterised by a cognate focus on discourse theory and discourse analysis, while their proportion and articulation remain a matter of implementation (see Angermuller, Maingueneau, and Wodak 2014a). A concern for systematic methods is relatively widespread in linguistic versions of discourse analysis, while the more theoretical strands are often characterised by an illustrative approach or the use of hermeneutic and interpretative methods. In this respect, Angermuller sees a problem with 'French' theories inspired by Lacan, Althusser, Foucault, and Derrida, because these thinkers "have often been perceived as sweeping theorists of language in society, but of rather limited help when it comes to analysing linguistic and semiotic texts" (Angermuller 2014a, 1). However, he points out that this is less an inherent failure in the edifice of 'post-structuralism', but should rather be attributed to a shortened reception, which cuts off the linguistic and semiotic traditions that constitute a major source of inspiration for these authors and contemporary discourse theorists alike (ibid.).

Against this background, I will develop tools and methods that intervene in two bodies of literature. To the discussion in Migration Studies, I contribute a set of methods and tools that enable performing discourse analysis in a critical and reflexive manner, and make a case for discourse beyond theory and heuristic. This is done by resorting to enunciative pragmatics, a strand of discourse analysis that puts emphasis on its linguistic and semiotic lineages. However, a materialist perspective on discursive practices of bordering also presents a challenge to the methodological discussion in Discourse Studies. Most notably, analysing the double excess of social and political realities requires addressing the materialist beginnings of discourse analysis. While Marxist and historical-materialist approaches have been a crucial source of inspiration for 'French' strands, this heritage is mostly languishing in obscurity today. As Marie-Anne Paveau observes, "contemporary discourse analysis (…) has somehow 'dematerialised' by demarxisizing itself" (2007, 8; my translation).

In this chapter, I will re-articulate materialist and post-structuralist approaches to discourse. Interlacing, reworking, and recovering different methodological traditions and debates aptly fits the post-disciplinary impetus of Discourse Studies: "As opposed to traditional disciplines, which tend to deal with 'pure' objects, Discourse Studies makes the case for cooperative and integrative work going beyond individual disciplines" (Angermuller, Maingueneau, and Wodak 2014b, 7). A similar drive also

underpins contemporary Migration Studies. While its disciplinary constraints are not fully surpassed in the mainstream (this is for example visible in Bommes and Morawska 2005; Brettell and Hollifield 2008), this is definitely the case in the more critical strands. They conceive of Migration Studies as a field of intervention that transcends the 'traditional' spaces of academic knowledge production, and make a strong case for an explicitly political orientation of research (see the contributions in Garelli and Tazzioli 2013a; as well as chapter 5).

The kind of methodological development and re-articulation across theoretical and methodological borders that I perform in my work is inspired by Claudia Aradau and Jef Huysmans's political conception of methods "as an enactment of and rupture into the worlds of knowledge and politics":

> [O]ur reconceptualization has shifted from a focus on philosophical assumptions to a focus on *political effects.* In [the] double configuration as devices and acts, methods appear messy and fragile, rather than delivering the kind of rigour, scientificity, objectivity or truth that are the basis for the authority of knowledge in many of the methodological debates. Rather than type casting methods as delivering a rigorous or objective knowledge contained within a particular epistemology and ontology, the interesting methodological question is what it means and what is at stake in proposing fragile objectivity or messy truth. (…) For us, methodological debates are about the substantive worlds enacted through the method and the potential rupture that its enactment creates. This understanding invites eclectic and experimental processes of connecting and assembling. Finally, methods as devices and acts do not endorse the plurality of methods as coexistence through indifference. Starting with methods as devices and acts brings out the political stakes that methods carry and thus the struggles over the worlds that methods enact. (Aradau and Huysmans 2014, 612–13)

In this spirit, I develop a qualitative, discourse-analytical approach that allows to scrutinise discursive practices of bordering from a reflexive and political perspective. Borrowing the words of Michel Pêcheux, I am interested in asking "[o]n what conditions [it is] possible (or impossible) for an interpretation to make an intervention", and how we can " (re)define a 'politics' of discourse analysis" (Pêcheux [1983] 1995, 241).

Outline

In a first step, I will introduce the method of enunciative pragmatics, a formal-qualitative version of 'French' discourse analysis. I will put special emphasis on its materialist lineages in order to account for the double excess that characterises bordering as a material-discursive practice.

In a second step, I will expand on the definition of corpus that underpins my research, and account for the composition of the analytical corpus that serves as a 'material basis' for my project.

The last two parts of the chapter present the methodological tools that are used in the analysis chapters. These tools draw on the discursive construction of time, space, and subjectivity (introduced in the third part), as well as discursive polyphony and memory (fourth part) to perform a discourse analysis of discursive borders.

The composition and selection of material, as well as the methodological specificities will be discussed at the beginning of each chapter. The appendix contains notes on methods (including the steps of coding and analysis, as well as the compilation of my corpus, see appendix, 227f.) and research ethics (see appendix, 229ff.).

1. Enunciative Pragmatics and Formal-qualitative Analysis

Tracing back the beginnings of discourse analysis to discussions in France, the US, and the UK in the late 1960s, Angermuller, Maingueneau, and Wodak notice that "an increasing intellectual hybridization began in the 1990s", and "[a]t least in Europe a transdisciplinary field has emerged from various sub-disciplinary and national orientations" (Angermuller, Maingueneau, and Wodak 2014a, 9–10). As a common denominator, they posit a 'triangle of discourse analysis' between language, practices, and context:

> 'Language' designates the semiotic material (formal patterns, conventions, resources) in the broadest sense. It can consist of written and oral texts, but just as easily of audio-visual materials (images, film…), which are needed to construct knowledge about the wider context. 'Practice' refers to specific ways of appropriating and processing language and extends to everything that may take place between the participants in interaction, including the various claims made in the name of expertise and exclusion. 'Context' refers to the setting, situation or knowledge available to the discourse participants contextualizing texts. Such knowledge can be situation-dependent or situation-transcendent, individual or shared by large collectives. (Angermuller, Maingueneau, and Wodak 2014a, 7)

Defined along these lines, discourse analysis scrutinises material that is articulated and received in specific contexts. Different methods often focus on one of the three elements. For instance, linguistic traditions tend to lean towards the element of language, ethnomethodological and praxeological approaches primarily focus on communicative practices, and sociological strands turn to the social context in order to get hold of 'the discursive'.

A notable exception is constituted by the 'French school'[27] of discourse analysis, which has been motivated by a simultaneous concern for all three domains from the outset (see Angermüller and Maingueneau 2007). In stark contrast to the theoretical reception of 'French' discourse analysis[28], its methodological contributions are only slowly resonating in the English-speaking debate. Here, systematically resorting to 'French' discourse analysis in terms of a qualitative method is a rather new endeavour (see for example Williams 1999; Angermuller 2014a). For my research, I re-articulate methods and tools from the pragmatic strands of 'French' discourse analysis with its materialist beginnings.

[27] This label needs to be problematised: According to Jean-Jacques Courtine (2017), it served to de-historicise and de-politicise discourse analysis in the French context. Today more than ever, 'French' discourse analysis is a heterogeneous edifice reaching beyond the borders of France, with translations and important contributions being published in Italy, Spain, and Portugal (see Helsloot and Hak 2000), Germany (see Angermüller 2007), as well as Brazil (see Dias 2009; Orlandi 2003) and other Latin American countries. Paradoxically, the materialist tradition of 'French' DA seems to be more alive outside of France, as Paveau's experience illustrates: "Brazilian discourse analysts organised a historical colloquium in Porto Alegre in the Summer 2003, gathering 'fans' wearing t-shirts with the effigy of Pêcheux (which is surely a Brazilian way of paying tribute, but it spectacularly contrasts with the French oblivion)" (Paveau 2007, 3; my translation).

[28] Most notably of Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* ([1969] 2002) and, to a much lesser extent, of Michel Pêcheux's seminal book *Language, Semantics and Ideology* ([1975] 1982).

Enunciative pragmatics

Johannes Angermuller's *Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis: Subjectivity in Enunciative Pragmatics* (2014a) is based on a pragmatic reading of 'French' enunciative analysis (see Sumpf and Dubois 1969; Foucault [1969] 2002; Ducrot 1984). In my implementation, I put special emphasis on its materialist lineages (Pêcheux [1975] 1982, 1988; Maldidier 1990; Courtine 1981; Conein et al. 1981a) to account for the double excess of material-discursive practices (see chapter 1, 47ff.).

Historically, the enunciative tradition developed from the late 1960s onwards in a "triple alliance" (Pêcheux 1982, 211) between three analytical (and political) traditions [29]: materialist epistemologies conceiving of knowledge in terms of a production process infused with ideology (see Althusser 2005; Althusser et al. [1965] 2015); psychoanalytic perspectives promoting a de-centred understanding of subjectivity (see Freud [1900] 2010; Miller 1966; Irigaray 1969; Lacan 1981; and Fink 1997 for an introduction); and contributions to the field of linguistics that proceed in the Saussurean tradition (Saussure 1915), but question some of its structuralist underpinnings (see Benveniste 1971; and later Culioli 1995).

Enunciative pragmatics is a discourse-analytical framework that combines interests in language, practices, and context. It conceives of context not in terms of a stable entity that can be mechanically juxtaposed to text, but as a discursive dimension that is only made intelligible through discourse. By questioning the "relative autonomy of linguistics" (Maingueneau 2002b, 454; my translation), it distinguishes itself from the more 'traditional' approaches in the field of linguistic pragmatics. According to Angermuller, by challenging

> the strict separation between text (as a linguistic object) and context (as an extra-linguistic object), (…) the analysis no longer features abstract texts isolated from their enunciative context, but texts which are enunciated, used, and contextualized in discourse. (Angermuller 2014a, 24)

The enunciative approach places a simultaneous focus on utterances (*énoncés*) and utterance acts (*énonciations*). It proposes to think about the domain of the discursive in terms of a continuous oscillation between (materialised) facts and (performative) acts. While the relation between act and fact has been broadly debated in French

[29] On the level of theory, this encounter has already been explored in the previous chapter.

linguistic circles (see Dubois 1969), Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* (2002) arguably contains its most prominent elaboration (also see chapter 1, 39ff.). Jean-Jacques Courtine maintains that even if Foucault's input lies rather in "an exemplary theoretical practice (…) than a battery of notions that are immediately applicable", his perspective has always been "working inside" of enunciative analysis (Courtine 1981, 40; my translation).

In Angermuller's version, enunciative pragmatics provides "a wealth of analytical tools to account for the positions subjects occupy in discourse". They enable "to analyse how, in the act of reading and writing, utterances are contextualized with respect to who speaks, when and where" and "how subjectivity is constructed in a multitude of voices, sources and speakers and tied to the linguistic forms and formal markers which organize the enunciation" (Angermuller 2014a, 4). This allows to analyse discourse in its complexity and without levelling its constitutive heterogeneity. The set of tools that is used in my analysis will be introduced in the second half of this chapter. But first, it is necessary to address some of the distinctive features that characterise enunciative pragmatics as a qualitative approach.

Quality criteria and formal-qualitative analysis

Qualitative approaches have always been confronted with a set of 'classic' quality criteria of social research (see Leavy et al. 2014). This raises the question of how discourse analysis responds to calls for quality, systematicity, and scientificity, and how enunciative pragmatics inscribes itself into the qualitative paradigm. In this respect, the implications of its materialist underpinnings must be addressed as well.

With Angermuller, I have maintained that 'classic' quality criteria (such as validity, representativeness, objectivity, or reliability) are not readily applicable in Discourse Studies for several reasons (see Angermuller and Schwab 2014). Most importantly, they are at odds with their constructivist stance. Instead, we propose that quality in Discourse Studies should be conceived in relation to "the specific needs and challenges of the research process, particularly in terms of its internal coherence, plausibility, and stringency" (ibid. 645; my translation). Apart from more general guidelines such as

accessibility, creativity, as well as relevance and resonance[30], we are pleading for a reflexive approach to discourse. Such an approach accounts for the intersectional positioning of discourse analysts (for example along the lines of class, gender, race/ethnicity, or citizenship) and "the necessary partiality of one's own perspective – in the research process, the question of subjectivity takes the place of objectivity" (Angermuller and Schwab 2014, 649; my translation).

Enunciative pragmatics can be regarded as a constructivist method that deviates from the interpretative norm that is engrained in hermeneutic, phenomenological, and interactionist versions of discourse analysis (see Angermuller 2014a, 57). It is important to underline that the enunciative-pragmatic approach does not abandon the interest in systematic research. Quite to the contrary, such is one of its core concerns. Enunciative pragmatics is characterised by what Angermuller (2014a, 55–57) characterises as a 'formal-qualitative' gaze. According to Angermuller, this label serves to condense three methodological features: the "materiality of form"; a "break between object and theory"; and a "reduction of complexity" (ibid.):

First and foremost, enunciative analysis departs from the formal characteristics of the material. Formal markers "are not just the secondary expressive container of a primary meaning's content", but "constitute a material surface devoid of any concealed 'beyond' (meaning, intention, knowledge, interpretation, interest …). The signs and practices of discourse are 'material' insofar as they possess no inherent meaning. Meaning is an effect of the interplay of the symbolic-material elements with the context in the interpretive process" (ibid.). Because "discourse operates with *too* much meaning", formal-qualitative research does not proceed against the horizon of intersubjective verification, self-evidence, or reconstruction: "Taking its point of departure in the graphic forms of the text, it prefers to postpone the moment of interpretation to the end of the research process" (ibid.).

[30] In the context of the neoliberal university, these concepts are highly ambivalent. If framed in relation to exploitability for policymaking or the commercial sector, relevance and resonance serve as core indicators for the neoliberal governance of academic research. However, the same notions can attain an eminently political quality, if framed in terms of a critique of the social and political status quo.

Second, Angermuller introduces a distinction between "theory discourse" and "object discourse":

> The production of analytical knowledge is a process of active construction, extracting elements from the object-discourse and transferring them to the theory-discourse without levelling the distance between them. In this process, the categories of the object-discourse are refracted by the categories of the theory-discourse. In this discontinuous translation from object- to theory-discourse, new knowledge is generated which is not already present in the object. The question, then, is not whether the theoretical knowledge produced in this process gives an 'objective' account of the object, but how the theory-discourse intervenes in the object-discourse by re-arranging and transforming it. (ibid.)

While the notion of 'discontinuous translation' between theory and object (and method) aptly describes the type of movement that I perform in my work, Angermuller's insistence on a distance could be seen as slightly at odds with my materialist perspective. I will return to this point in the next section.

Third, enunciative pragmatics performs a "reduction of complexity" by "breaking the object up into its smallest constitutive elements and structuring mechanisms" (ibid.). This happens in order to

> [reduce] the variety of empirical phenomena (…) to the fundamental rules of production. Instead of reconstructing a socially shared stock of knowledge ('what?'), discourse analysis focuses on the rules which organize the construction of discourse and its formations ('how?'). (Ibid.)

This micro-analytical approach to discourse analysis, which pays close attention to the formal characteristics of the material, is inspired by Foucault's (2002) conception of enunciative analysis as a 'happy positivism'.

Foucault suggests that

> [t]o describe a group of statements not as the closed, plethoric totality of a meaning, but as an incomplete, fragmented figure; to describe a group of statements not with reference to the interiority of an intention, a thought, or a subject, but in accordance with the dispersion of an exteriority; to describe a group of statements, in order to rediscover not the moment or the trace of their origin, but the specific forms of an accumulation, is certainly not to uncover an interpretation, to discover a foundation, or to free constituent acts; nor is it to decide on a rationality, or to embrace a teleology. It is to establish what I am quite willing to call a positivity. To analyse a discursive formation therefore is to deal with a group of verbal performances at the level of the statements and of the form of positivity that characterizes them; or, more briefly, it is to define the type of positivity of a discourse. If, by substituting the analysis of rarity for the search for totalities, the description of relations of exteriority for the theme of the transcendental foundation, the analysis of accumulations for the quest of the origin, one is a positivist, then I am quite happy to be one". (Foucault 2002 [1969], 141)

The formal-qualitative agenda that is outlined by Angermuller (and Foucault) is compatible with my theoretical perspective on discursive practices of bordering. It also resonates with Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson's call to focus analytically on the 'productivity' of borders in *Border as Method* (2013; also see chapter 1). However, minor tensions arise from the combination of a radically anti-experiential, anti-reconstructive, and anti-interpretative approach with a call for subjectivity, reflexivity, as well as the interventionist desire that characterises Critical Migration Studies. In the following, I propose to think through some implications of such a combination in a reflection on enunciative pragmatics as materialist analysis.

Enunciative pragmatics and/as materialist analysis

Even though a materialist gaze is present in enunciative pragmatics, it is not fully laid out in some instances. As mentioned before, this is somehow symptomatic for contemporary strands of 'French' discourse analysis, which cultivate a "strange memory" (Paveau 2007, 3) of their materialist beginnings. I argue that considering enunciative pragmatics in terms of a materialist method allows recovering some of its critical potential that otherwise risks fading. My re-articulation of contemporary 'French' discourse analysis with a materialist perspective feeds into a collective

project that reconsiders materialist approaches in Discourse Studies (see Beetz and Schwab 2017b; as well as the contributions in Beetz and Schwab 2017a).

In the light of the Althusserian-Lacanian tradition of Marxism, one can identify at least three materialist concerns in 'French' discourse analysis: knowledge production; the power of absence; and struggles. These elements are most visible in the work of Michel Pêcheux (1995, 1982) and Jean-Jacques Courtine (1981, 1991; Conein et al. 1981a), but materialism forms a "spectral undercurrent" in other approaches as well (see Beetz and Schwab 2017c, 29ff.).

The first materialist element is that of *knowledge production*: The 'break between object and theory' in enunciative pragmatics is conceptualised along the lines of Althusser's anti-empiricist conception of knowledge as a production process in his contributions to *Reading Capital* (Althusser et al. [1965] 2015). Beyond a mere constructionist argument, Althusser puts forward a Marxist take on production, which involves a concern for the material and technical conditions, and the social relations of production (ibid., 324ff.).

Looking at the conditions of knowledge production, it becomes clear that discourse analysis can never be purely 'creative', but is constrained by

> the type of object (raw material) on which it labours, the theoretical means of production available (its theory, its method and its technique, experimental or otherwise) and the historical relations (both theoretical, ideological, and social) in which it produces. (ibid., 43)

In early contributions to the enunciative approach (most notably Pêcheux 1969; Pêcheux and Fuchs 1975; Courtine 1981), the aspect of production played a major role. According to Courtine (1981, 19–24), the conditions of production of the discourse to be analysed and of the process of discourse analysis are interlaced. Consequently, the power relations and contradictions that characterise the discursive object under investigation always infuse the analytical practice that tries to grasp it. Courtine's conception of these aspects hinges on a class-analysis perspective.[31] Against the background of this and the previous chapter, I believe that the concept of production can be updated with an intersectional framework to account for the myriad

[31] Though unlike other Marxist approaches of that time, Courtine does not essentialise class as a fundamental contradiction that directly structures the discursive field into two antagonistic camps.

contradictions that simultaneously affect our everyday life and work (for example capitalism, racism, sexism, ableism, etc.). Such a re-orientation serves two purposes.

First, it allows for a reflexive discourse analysis without recurring to hermeneutic epistemologies:

> [T]hrough ordered descriptions of discursive constructions, it is possible to detect moments of interpretation as acts that emerge in the form of explicit viewpoints recognized as such; that is, as effects of identification that are assumed and not denied. Before boundless interpretations in which the interpreter acts as an absolute point, without any other or real, it is for me a matter of ethics and politics: a question of responsibility. (Pêcheux 1988, 647)

Pêcheux's insistence on ethics and politics resonates with Donna Haraway's (1988, 584) call for an ethics of responsibility and solidarity, which I have referred to in my theoretical discussion (see chapter 1, 55ff.). At the same time, it also helps to reassess Angermuller's claim that "[e]nunciative pragmatics deals with written or spoken utterances circulating in a discursive community rather than with meaning-producing subjects and situated practices" (2014a, 3). If this is true on a theoretical level, it does not imply that these aspects are no longer relevant at all. Quite to the contrary, almost everything in enunciative pragmatics is about the production of meaning – with the twist that intelligibility is neither seen as definite, nor as reconstructible. Additionally, situated knowledges and practices are always already among the utterances that are dealt with in discourse analysis. In a reflexive materialist framework, they can be acknowledged as moments of interpretation and effects of identification.

Furthermore, a materialist concern for knowledge production helps to avoid a bias towards the enunciated element of the 'utterance(f)act'. Stressing its active quality, the concept of production extends the reach of enunciative pragmatics. It helps to grasp the entangled materialities of enunciation and the enunciated (without privileging the substantial materiality of the latter). And it allows thinking context beyond an empirical situation, in terms of sedimented (but often misrecognized) structures that constrain discursive practices. This brings me to a second point.

The second materialist element is constituted by *the power of absence:* Inspired by Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis, the version of Marxist critique of ideology that would later merge into 'French' discourse analysis is interested in the unconscious and

imaginary effects of discourse (see Beetz and Schwab 2017c, 34ff.). This is reflected in the concept of 'symptomal reading' that animates Althusser's take on Marx in *Reading Capital* ([1965] 2015). For Althusser, reading is a scientific method, insofar as science "depends less for its life on what it knows than on what it does not know: its absolute precondition is to focus on this unknown, and to pose it in the rigor of a problem" (Althusser et al. [1965] 2015, 27–29). Consequently, a symptomal reading looks for the "visible/invisible, absent/present keystone" of a given text (ibid.). This is perhaps the moment that comes closest to exposing Althusser's own method of materialist analysis, which could be qualified as a form of discourse analysis *avant la lettre*.[32]

It is important to insist on this point, because the focus on the materiality of form in enunciative pragmatics should not be mistaken for a substantialist materialism that refuses to engage with anything 'beyond text'. Quite to the contrary, it invites scrutinising what I call the power of absence. This can be done by using tools that allow us to look at how presences and absences are formally inscribed on the surface of materialised discourse. In the light of the concept of production, enunciative pragmatics allows systematically tracing dialectics of in- and exclusion, relations of privilege and repression, as well as social and political realities that *do not* enter the realm of the discursive precisely because they cannot be, or are prevented from being made intelligible. Such a perspective allows analysing instances of material excess which are not, or only 'indirectly' or 'negatively', symbolised through formal markers. These processes are never random, but anchored in social structures and connected to social and political struggles.

A last materialist element consists in the emphasis on *struggles*. While the concept of struggles is arguably one of the most prominent (and controversial) elements of the materialist edifice (this already became apparent in chapter 1, 23ff.), it is oddly absent from Althusser's early work and enunciative discourse analysis. For both sides, it needed the events of May 1968 and painful rounds of auto-critique (see Althusser

[32] Symptomal reading approaches theories and methods *as discourses*. Althusser's method is characterised by a reflexive gesture: "[I]t divulges the undivulged event in the text it reads, and in the same movement relates it to *a different text*, present as a necessary absence in the first" and "in the new one the *second text* is articulated with the lapses in the first text" (Althusser et al. [1965] 2015, 27). In a similar vein, Angermuller (2014, 6) points out that "just as with any other text, the meaning of [his] text, too, needs to be constructed by readers coming from a discursive community whose background is more or less out of reach, at least for the originator of this text".

1976, 1993 [1992]; Pêcheux 1982) to acknowledge the implications of this central category of materialism (in terms of analysis *and* intervention). However, while for Foucault discourses are "by nature the object of a struggle, a political struggle" ([1969] 2002, 136), and struggles figure prominently in post-Marxist strands of discourse analysis (see for example Laclau and Mouffe 2001 [1985]), they continue to be a marginal concern for enunciative approaches.

This is astonishing, because enunciative pragmatics is perfectly capable to account for struggles in the broadest sense. By connecting a concern for struggles over meaning with material-discursive power relations, I believe that the tools of enunciative pragmatics offer a great way to analyse two dimensions of material excess: the material-discursive effects of enunciative privilege and oppression; as well as the moments in which discourse participants openly challenge the political status-quo. Such a perspective offers a methodological alternative to the hegemony-theoretical analysis of power and contestation, which tends to obfuscate the heterogeneity of struggles by positing a binary antagonism between two positions (see Laclau and Mouffe 2001 [1985], 98ff.).[33]

It is important to emphasise that the three materialist elements outlined here cannot straightforwardly be qualified as amendments or corrections of enunciative analysis. Rather, I prefer to see them as slightly overgrown paths that, once laid open again, expose new analytical and political possibilities. Motivated by an archaeological gaze, my re-reading allows to rematerialise contemporary discourse analysis by remarxisizing it, to twist Paveau's above assessment. While the post-structuralist drive for ambivalences and rhizomatic forms of power sometimes seems to be at odds with a materialist emphasis on contradictions and struggles (at least that is what we are led to believe by advocates of an epistemological irreconcilability[34]), I believe in the productivity of this encounter.

If certain tensions arise at times, I suggest that we should not keep ourselves busy with trying to resolve them once and for all. Constituting an 'irritating element', they rather

[33] In this way, it becomes for example possible to analyse sexism and racism not only as contradictions that constitute the 'border' between two antagonistic projects, but as material-discursive processes that cut across antagonism and infuse anti-racist and anti-sexist politics at the same time.

[34] Insisting on the productivity of the encounter between materialism and discourse also questions the 'newness' and the theoretical bordering that underpins some of the 'new materialisms' that have been discussed in the previous chapter (see chapter 1, 31ff.).

remind us to continuously interrogate the conditions, promises, and pitfalls of research, critique, and political intervention. This, I would argue, constitutes the politics of discourse analysis, which are mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. To paraphrase Harding's words previously quoted,

> [c]oherent [methods] in an obviously incoherent world are either silly and uninteresting or oppressive and problematic, depending on the degree of hegemony they manage to achieve. Coherent [methods] in an apparently coherent world are even more dangerous, for the world is always more complex than such unfortunately hegemonous [methods] can grasp. (Harding 1986, 164)

In my implementation, enunciative pragmatics focusses on the contradictory encounter between the "real of language" (the excess of meaning) and the "real of history" (the excess of reality) in discourse (see Pêcheux et al. 1981; my translation). In this light, enunciative pragmatics is a materialist approach that allows scrutinising the apparent and effective (in)coherencies of migration discourse and discursive practices of bordering. While accepting the challenge that is posed by the double excess of social and political realities, my use of formal-qualitative tools is also accompanied by a concern for recovering and updating the materialist legacy of enunciative pragmatics. In the research process, the enunciative analysis is preceded by the composition of a corpus, which I will address now.

2. The Corpus: Definition, Composition, Selection

In enunciative pragmatics, the composition of an analytical corpus as well as the subsequent stages of selection form a primary concern. Inspired by the linguistic traditions of research mentioned above, the systematic and reflected composition of a corpus has always been a crucial step of discourse analysis. Way beyond a "simple technical gesture (…) it is challenging because it brings into play the very conception of discursivity, its relation with institutions, and the role of discourse analysis" (Beacco and Branca-Rosoff 2002, 150; my translation).

In this part of the chapter, I will discuss the definition, composition, and selection of the corpus for my research against the background of the materialist version of enunciative pragmatics introduced above.

From the concept of corpus to a discourse analysis 'without borders'

In order to define the concept, a first important distinction can be made between 'virtual' and 'concrete' corpora. According to Dietrich Busse and Wolfgang Teubert, virtual corpora

> deal with an entity chosen as an object of investigation, theme, knowledge-complex or concept and exhibit semantic relations and/or the shared context of a statement, communicative act, function or purpose; come within the perimeters arising from the research programme with respect to period of time, point in time, geographical area, societal cross-section, field of communication, text type or other parameters; either refer back to each other through explicit or implicit (textual or context semantic) references or build intertextual coherence. (Busse and Teubert 2014, 344)

Concrete corpora, on the other hand, are components of this virtual corpus, which are selected for the purpose of analysis.

"Their selection", Busse and Teubert continue,

> involves practical considerations such as the availability of sources, as well as context-oriented relevance criteria; of prime importance remains the approach of the researcher, which determines the concrete text corpus and thereby the object of investigation. (Ibid.)

In this light, enunciative analysis proceeds against the background of a virtual "discursive universal" (Courtine 1981, 24) that can never be fully represented through discourse analysis. Consequently, an enunciative analysis of discursive borders is only ever concerned with specific sections of the heterogeneous 'whole' of migration discourse. These sections need to be performed in a way that allows answering the research questions and preserves the heterogeneity of discourse at the same time.

The compilation of a concrete corpus entails different stages of selection. Courtine prefers to talk about "two successive moves: the extraction of a determined discursive field from a 'discursive universal'", as well as the "extraction or isolation of determined discursive sequences" for the enunciative analysis (Courtine 1981, 24). This implies acts of construction which are related to practical and theoretical choices. In this way, the position of the researcher and the conditions of production of the discourse (and its analysis) become a co-constitutive element of the discourse at stake.

Such a reflexive perspective on corpora highlights two crucial aspects. First, researchers co-construct the discourse they analyse. Second, their perspective is

necessarily partial, bound to the location and conditions of knowledge production, and infused with presuppositions and misrecognitions. Efforts to create reflexivity can (and should) be made, but these factors will always shape the analysis individual researchers can (and are likely to) do. Against this background, the understanding of materiality that underpins the question of the corpus can be extended as well. Beyond the 'obvious materiality' of concrete corpora (their visual, textual, or sonic substance), the passage from virtual to concrete corpora is intimately connected to the conditions and relations of production of academic research, which therefore need to be addressed explicitly.

More broadly speaking, the reflexive understanding of corpus troubles the distinction between corpus-driven (deductive) and corpus-based (inductive) methods, which is common in the field of corpus linguistics (see for example Tognini-Bonelli 2001, 47ff.; Bubenhofer 2009, 149ff.). I argue that enunciative methods cut across this distinction. On the one side, the composition of a corpus is always theory-led and dependent on the subjectivity of the researcher, and thus deductive. But at the same time, theory is never purely external to the analytical field. While a break between 'theory discourse' and 'object-discourse' might be maintained from a technical point of view, situated theories and methods in the field of investigation continuously induce and inform discourse theory and method, only waiting to find application to similar (or new) objects of research. In this way, discourse participants become discourse theorists and analysists, whose standpoints and voices enter into a (virtual) conversation with the researcher. This becomes apparent in countless examples of critical theories that crucially depend on situated knowledges that have originally been generated in social and political struggles (for example struggles of migration, see chapter 1, 23ff.; and chapter 5).

The type of analysis performed in my work can be described as a materialist discourse analysis 'without borders'. In such a perspective, the construction of a concrete corpus is always preliminary. In the practices of analysis, theory discourse, methodological discourse, and object discourse are crossed and related with each other in a continuous movement. This can be illustrated with the topological model of a moebius strip, which has already been of use to refute the binary understanding of borders as dividing lines between a clearly delimited inside and outside (see chapter 1, 50). The spaces of

theory, method, and the research object can be distinguished analytically, but are in fact located in a continuous discursive space without borders (see figure 3).

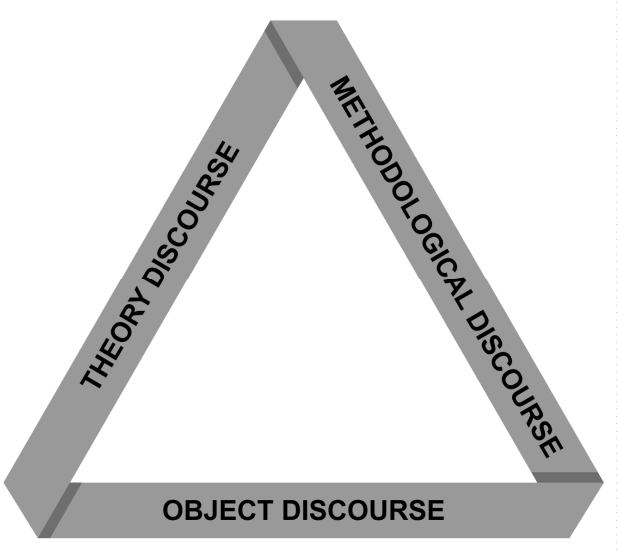

Figure 3 The continuous discursive space of theory, methods, and objects.

This understanding is consistent with Michel Pêcheux's late characterisation of discourse analysis

> as a 'spiral' interaction which combines intersections, convergences and divergences between textual series (oral or written), constructions of networks of questions, structurations of memory-networks and productions of writing. (Pêcheux [1983] 1995, 241)

The distinction between virtual corpora, which implies an open understanding of the discursive 'without borders', and concrete corpora as "a construction of the analytical process (…) which predetermines the results to be achieved to a considerable extent" (Angermuller 2014a, 21) is important in the light of my interest in the political effects of bordering. In the following section, I will account for the bordering of the analytical corpus in my research project.

Composition and selection of material

The composition of a concrete corpus for my research project is guided by the research questions. Essentially, it should allow the analysis of discursive borders in the EUropean migration regime across different scales and types of discourse, and in their de- and re-construction by individual and collective, migrant and non-migrant subjects. In the light of my theoretical framework, addressing and preserving their material-discursive heterogeneity is of pivotal importance.

This requires a 'broad' approach that acknowledges and preserves the ambivalences of discursive borders as carefully as possible. However, a certain selection needs to be performed for practical and methodological reasons. One solution would consist in exclusively focussing on discursive sequences that contain a specific practice of discursive bordering, for example by deploying the signifiers 'labour migrants' and 'refugees'. While such an approach could be considered as methodologically concise at first glance, it risks omitting the more insidious effects of discursive bordering. Imposing a limited horizon under which migration is made intelligible, it misses countless instances of discursive bordering in which discourse participants are using different, or only one of the two conceptual signifiers. Nevertheless, they draw discursive borders – often by *not* using a signifier at all. This requires moving away from a strategy of compilation that exclusively relies on textual content, or 'natural' connections between the different elements of a corpus (for example a shared institutional setting, explicit references, or temporal synchronicity).

The challenge is to find a suitable device of articulation that guarantees a transparent and reflected compilation of material and 'cases' that aptly capture the heterogeneity of discursive borders. To a large extent, the search for such a cohesive element is based on theoretical and empirical hypotheses. Indeed, I argue that it is impossible to compile a corpus without making such assumptions, which changes the issue from a problem of selectivity to a practice of reflexivity.

I propose to resort to the centrality of knowledge production and circulation in the field of migration to justify the selection of material for my analysis. My corpus is internally structured by three subsections: history, policymaking, and non-citizens' struggles. It is important to note that these three sections do not constitute independent discourses, but spaces that are characterised by specific conditions of knowledge production. They map onto three major dimensions of knowledge that I consider pivotal to understand

current movements of migration and their governance. Ultimately, this distinction is analytic. Simplifying the analysis and presentation of discursive borders in EUrope, it should not obscure the fact that these fields are entangled from the beginning, and discourse-participants often move in more than one of them. Indeed, I would argue that the everyday practices of discourse communities cut across the distinction. For example, the set of concepts and differentiations that is used in policymaking is always infused with historical knowledges (see Hansen and Jonsson 2011, 2016; De Genova 2016). At the same time, academics are increasingly prompted to produce 'policy relevant' knowledge on migration, but are also involved in struggles of migration as activists.

The strategy of compilation adopted for my research relies on the centrality of knowledge in the field of migration, which is diagnosed by scholars of migration. This point is especially pronounced in the literature on migration governance, where the production and circulation of knowledge between academia and EU policymaking (see Boswell 2008), public debates (see Boswell 2009) and in non-governmental organisations (see Hess 2010; Pécoud 2014) is emphasised. In this light, the critical migration scholar Sabine Hess describes the current mode of regulation in the field of migration as "knowledge based" (Hess 2010, 98).[35] As a common denominator, this diverse body of literature regards knowledge about current movements of migration as a crucial resource for migration governance, and looks at the relation between migration control and academic and activist knowledge production. While contemporary policymaking is commonly treated as a primary field of investigation for Migration Studies, I argue that this perspective needs to be extended by looking at historical, as well as situated, forms of knowledge that are produced in non-citizens' struggles. This extension is based on theoretical arguments that have been made earlier (see chapter 1). Both the materialist theory on the autonomy of migration (see Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008; Mezzadra 2011), as well as feminist theories on situated knowledges (see Haraway 1988, 1991, 1992), make a plea for taking the collective mode of knowledge production seriously. These modes of knowledge production disrupt top-down practices of governance, and allow scrutinising social and political realities from an alternative point of view. At the same

[35] This assessment resonates with Ngai-Ling Sum and Bob Jessop's research on a knowledge-based, cultural political economy (see Sum and Jessop 2013, 2014).

time, a concern for historical processes lies at the heart of a historical-materialist perspective and its discourse-analytical versions (see Beetz and Schwab 2017c, 46).

Approaching discursive borders in EUrope from the perspective of history (chapter 3), policymaking (chapter 4), and struggles (chapter 5) ensures a pluralisation of epistemologies, and meets the challenges of the heterogeneous object presented by discursive borders. While cutting across different spatial and temporal contexts[36], the three analysis chapters also feature different practical implementations of enunciative pragmatics as a macro-historical (chapter 3), micro (chapter 4), and situated perspective (chapter 5). My personal reflections in the epilogue resort to a more experimental form of reflexive narrative writing.

The composition and selection of material is discussed at the beginning of each chapter. The appendix features an overview of the steps of coding and analysis, and a tabular overview of the textual material that was analysed (appendix, 227f.). In the remainder of this chapter, I will introduce the methodological toolkit that is used throughout my analysis.

3. The Discursive Construction of Subjectivity, Time, and Space

In the following, I will introduce methodological tools for a formal-qualitative analysis of the discursive construction of subjectivity, time, and space. Departing from formal markers that organise these crucial dimensions of meaning in relation to their discursive context allows for an analysis at the intersection of language and discourse. The starting point for this type of investigation are deictic markers that point from the materialised surface of utterances (*énoncés*) to their co- and contextual environment. By scrutinising the formal characteristics of the material, it becomes possible to grasp the discursive practices of bordering it contains as practices of positioning. This enables tracing power relations and processes of in- and exclusion that manifest themselves in discourse.

[36] In this respect, my approach bears some similarities to Vicki Squire's "observational 'cuts' (…) that involve practical observations and engagements of/at the Sonoran borderzone as a site of post/humanitarian politics" (Squire 2015a, 22).

Deixis

Deixis[37] describes the referential quality of pronominal, adverbial, and nominal signs. Three modes of reference can be distinguished: personal ('I', 'you', 'we'), temporal ('now', 'today', 'on the 20th of July'), and spatial deixis ('here', 'now'). The analysis of deictical forms goes back to the linguists Karl Bühler ([1934] 2011) and Émile Benveniste (1971, 1970). It bears similarities to Otto Jespersen's and Roman Jakobson's work on 'shifters' (see Fludernik 1991). In the following, I combine Benveniste's pioneering work with Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni's (1980) and Pierre Achard's (1993, 1998) seminal contributions to enunciative analysis.

Benveniste maintained that in their abstract linguistic quality, deictic forms always have the *same meaning*, because they are "an ensemble of 'empty' signs that are nonreferential with respect to 'reality'. These signs are always available and become 'full' as soon as a speaker introduces them into each instance of his discourse" (Benveniste 1971, 219–20). It is only through material acts of utterance (*énonciations*) that they can attain *discursive meaning*. This does not mean that their use is arbitrary: discourse participants 'encode' subjective and contextual parameters by using certain forms, and discourse recipients decode them against the background of their own experiences and (partial) knowledges. Enunciative analysis proceeds in the same way – except for the fact that the goal is not to reconstruct the 'original meaning' of utterances, but to investigate the field of possible meanings that they open up in relation to specific contexts of reception.

This dynamic perspective distinguishes enunciative pragmatics from semantic approaches that conceive of reference in terms of an essential and stable property of signs. Consider the example 'The boat is full!': the same utterance changes its reference when appearing in a political debate on migration, as opposed to the jetty of a pleasure boat. And with its context (involving the subject positions of 'refugees' and 'the public' vs. 'the captain' and 'tourists'), its meaning changes too. While this demonstrates the highly ambivalent nature of discourse, heterogeneity also implies that different contexts are never completely sanitised with respect to each other.

Before exploring the different deictic modalities in greater detail, three vectoral dimensions of reference have to be distinguished: co-textual and contextual

[37] In ancient Greek, δείκνυμι [*déknumi*] means 'to show' or 'to point out'.

designation, as well as denomination. Co-textual designations are references to other textual, visual or sonic utterances. Con-textual designation describes a relation between the deictic forms and the situative, contextual environment of the utterance (the conception of context involves a certain complexity that will be discussed below). In some cases, the two modes of designation blend into each other and are hard (if not impossible) to discern (see Maingueneau 2002a). The third element, denomination, does not qualify as a deictic reference in the narrow sense of the term. Its definition and delimitation is a subject of intense debate (see Kleiber 1981, 1984; Morton 1984; Mortureux 1984; Sumpf 1984). However, most authors agree that unlike designations, denominations imply a prior act and associative routines. This means that the border between the two is fluid, for any act of denomination relies on foregoing acts of designation (see Petit 2002). However, this does not imply that their meaning is stable.

Deictics represent formal points of reference that allow analysing the intersecting discursive construction of subjectivity, temporality, and spatiality. Each of these three referential modes works according to a different logic.

The modality of subjectivity (underlined in blue in the analysis chapters) encompasses references to 'persons' and 'non-persons' (Benveniste 1971, 223–32).[38] References to discursive persons in the Benevistean sense are exclusively organised through the personal pronouns 'I' and 'you' (including their inflections), and it is these two basic forms that organise the transition from language to discourse. The discursive positions 'I' (also called enunciator) and 'you' (co-enunciator) are in a polar relationship:

> I use I only when I am speaking to someone who will be a you in my address. It is this condition of dialogue that is constitutive of person, for it implies that reciprocally I becomes you in the address of the one who in his turn designates himself as I. (Benveniste 1971, 224)

The polar relation between 'I' and 'you' maps onto the linguistic distinction between 'locutor' and 'allocutor'. It constitutes what Benveniste calls the "formal apparatus of enunciation" (Benveniste 1970, [1970] 2014). With or without the presence of a formal

[38] The term is potentially misleading: In contrast to other conceptions in linguistics and social theory, both 'persons' and 'non-persons' are here conceived of as discursive constructions. Benveniste defines deictical reference in a way that is compatible with the psychoanalytic understanding of split subjectivities: "*they do not refer to a concept or an individual*" and "cannot be identified except in (…) an instance of discourse" (Benveniste 1971, 226).

marker, utterances always have an enunciative zero point, their 'I-here-now'. From this dominant position, references to the polar 'Thou, there, then' and to non-persons are organised.

Benveniste's non-persons (this term is chosen as an alternative to the grammatical third person) are an "extension of the person" (Williams 1999, 184). Non-personal reference is indicated by pronominal forms ('he', 'she', 'it', 'they') or denominations ('migrants', 'refugees'). Their referent can only be determined by looking at what Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1980, 40) calls "linguistic antecedent" – the co- or contextual field of reference that surrounds them.

The pronoun 'we' is a special case. Even more than in the other cases, its reference is highly instable. While the marker often refers to the totality or a part of the persons in a specific instance of discourse, it can also include non-persons. In many cases, the co-textual domain provides clues to determine possible referents.

However, to use the words of Annie Geffroy, 'we' always remains a "logical monster",

> the form by which the political subject tries to escape its enunciative responsibilities of a subject in favour of a collective with always moving contours. One may try to track its definition(s). But from the beginning, always surreptitiously but all the more effective, it regularly thwarts the linguistic calculus. (Geffroy 1985, 89; my translation)

The complex referential field of the pronoun 'we' is aptly demonstrated in Pierre Achard's (1993, 1998) work on the enunciative construction of nationalism. He shows that when not explicitly marked, 'we' is initially relatively open and undefined. As soon as the formal marker is introduced, the reference of 'we' starts to close in relation to a virtual external position. ('we' vs. 'others'). When a denomination is coupled with the deictic, the position is further closed ('we' vs. 'strangers' or 'we' vs. 'they' in political discourse) (see Achard 1993, 78ff.). In these two cases, (non-)belonging can become an essential property of discursive subjectivity.

In enunciative pragmatics, there is a certain tendency to prioritise the discursive construction of subjectivity over the temporal and spatial organisation. Deictics that reflect the discursive construction of time (hereafter underlined in green) and space (underlined in pink) mostly perform as important qualifiers of enunciative subjectivity. This understanding, which is also visible in the conception of the zero point of the enunciative apparatus, is grounded in Benveniste's work and continues to infuse the

field of enunciative pragmatics, where emphasis is put on analysing subject positions and practices of positioning. However, I argue that it is important to scrutinise spatial and temporal references in their own right.

According to Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1980, 47), discursive temporality is constructed through adjective ('current', 'modern', 'future'), prepositional ('from now on', 'from tomorrow'), or adverbial reference ('now', 'yesterday', 'the day before'). Temporal reference ('local' and 'global'; 'here', 'there', and so on) is organised in a parallel way. In both cases, the reference can work with co- and contextual designation, or rely on acts of denomination.

The enunciative organisation of time and space is particularly relevant for my analysis of discursive practices of bordering: Achard (1998) and Glyn Williams (1999, 266) point to the fact that apparently 'evident' denominations of membership and belonging (for example 'the country', 'the nation', etc.) are highly instable and need contextual elaboration to become meaningful. Here, the relation to discursive subjectivity is particularly interesting: Spatial references are often nominalised and used as personal references ('the locals', 'Europeans'). In a similar vein, the concept of migration (and the related conceptual signifiers such as 'migrant', 'emigrant', 'immigrant') rely on spatial and temporal reference (see Williams 1999, 272). In this light, the discursive construction of different 'types' of migration (for example 'labour migrants' vs. 'refugees') is predicated upon intersecting configurations of subjectivity, time, and space. Discursive practices of bordering leave formal marks in utterances, which can be analysed with the tools developed in enunciative pragmatics.

In accordance with the formal-qualitative agenda outlined earlier, the analysis of deictics follows a movement from the inside to the outside. Rather than trying to reconstruct the 'original meaning' that specific utterances might have (had), it looks for the multiplicity of possible meanings (or their excess) in relation to their discursive context. At this point, the concept of context must be specified.

Beyond text/context

Context plays a decisive role for pragmatic strands of discourse analysis. However, going beyond a mere textual analysis and looking at "texts which are enunciated, used, and contextualized in discourse" (Angermuller 2014a, 24) requires a definition of

context. Against the background of my materialist insistence on a discourse analysis 'without borders', the binary distinction between text and context needs to be questioned.

While some approaches in Discourse Studies use context as a catch-all phrase for everything that is not text, the definition of the concept is intensely debated in linguistics (see Auer and Di Luzio 1992; Duranti and Goodwin 1992) and discourse analysis (see van Dijk 1980, 2009; Adam et al. 2006). Besides emphasising the importance of context, the debate is marked by a certain disagreement regarding the grasp (macro vs. micro, and immanent vs. transcendental understandings), temporality (preceding, succeeding, or co-extensive with discourse) and shape of context (extra-linguistic vs. discursive conceptions).

Enunciative pragmatics relies on a micro-discursive understanding that qualifies context as a situated construction by discourse participants (and analysts), who selectively resort to situational and trans-situational knowledges to make sense of utterances. Against approaches that reproduce the binary distinction between text and context, such a conception helps to emphasise the fact that a communication setting is always co-constituted by the enunciative situation that unfolds co-extensively in the process of enunciation.

While this understanding is basically consistent with my theoretical perspective, its micro focus risks side-tracking the macro-discursive, socio-historical understanding of discourse and context that informs the work of Foucault (1994, 2002) and the materialist strands of 'French' discourse analysis (for example Courtine 1981; Pêcheux 1988). In my work, I propose to include a concern for these processes alongside the micro-situational conception of context. Indeed, enunciative pragmatics uses a second set of tools that allows accounting for this additional dimension of discursive heterogeneity. Before introducing these in the last part of this chapter, I condense the argument made so far by qualifying discursive bordering as a practice of positioning.

Analysing discursive bordering as a practice of positioning

Analysing discursive practices of bordering as practices of positioning allows looking at the power relations that infuse them. This involves looking at practices of definition

and differentiation not in their abstract quality, but as practices of bordering that are bound to material conditions, as well as discursive positions ('academics', 'the EU', 'activists', 'migrants') that construct their 'others' ('refugees', 'labour migrants', etc.) in specific contexts. To put it differently, I am interested in who is able to border concepts from which position, or, to reiterate the question that animated the reflexive gesture in my theory chapter: who is a (discursive) border guard? (see chapter 1, 55ff.).

This understanding is consistent with Foucault's concept of a subject position as "a particular, vacant place that may in fact be filled by different individuals" (Foucault [1969] 2002, 107) and Althusser's interpellation theory (Althusser 1971, 2014), which inform my theoretical framework. The notion of positioning can be attributed to the feminist scholar Wendy Hollway (1984), who investigated heterosexual relations as a discursive practice of positioning.

As I have shown, enunciative positions are formally inscribed into textual material through formal markers. According to Angermuller (2014b, 177), they "enable[] the reader to construct knowledge about a social world where other individuals act and position themselves in relation to each other". However, they need to be 'mapped' onto socio-political positions in order to 'make sense':

> Texts are not repositories for pure ideas, content or messages to be read directly from the symbolic material. They need a reader who completes it with the missing context by associating the many anonymous sources and voices of discourse with definite individuals occupying positions in the social. Thus, to understand a text's social relevance, the reader has to look for the guarantors, references and authorities the locutor quotes implicitly or explicitly in order to legitimate the content for which he or she does not claim responsibility. (…) The social efficiency of texts seems to lie precisely in the fact that they allow the reader a certain degree of freedom to determine the sources of enunciation and associate them with actors in the social world. (Angermuller 2014b, 177)

Using the perspective of enunciative analysis, I propose to look at how "concept-words" that "refer to the specific knowledge of the producers and co-producers in the field" are "organized by the markers of enunciation" (Angermuller 2014a, 60–62) and become meaningful in specific contexts. In doing so, my perspective is not essentially different from that of any other reader or recipient who is confronted with discourse fragments, and tries to make sense of them against the background of their own social,

political, and material positionality. In this context, I pay particular attention to enunciative privileges, erasures, as well as processes of in- and exclusion that are condensed in discourse (also see Rabatel 1998, 2004; Herzog 2017). They can be regarded as material manifestations of the excess that characterises material-discursive realities.

In this part of the chapter, I have introduced tools for a contextual analysis of practices of discursive bordering in relation to their material-discursive surroundings. However, they are populated by a further dimension of heterogeneity, which contributes to the excess of meaning that needs to be handled by discourse participants and analysts alike: discursive polyphony and memory.

4. Discursive Polyphony and Memory

Enunciative pragmatics employs a third set of tools that allows accounting for two additional forms of discursive excess. Discursive polyphony describes the fact that enunciations potentially contain a quasi-endless array of 'virtual positions' that need to be decoded by discourse participants. By contrast, discursive memory alerts us to the role of mundane, insidious, or memorised knowledges that have been or continue to be constructed 'elsewhere', and crucially influence the meaning that is attributed to utterances. As in the previous sections, the tools that will be introduced in the following do not aim to 'uncover' or 'reconstruct' this heterogeneity. Instead, they depart from formal traces that are inscribed on the material surface of discourse.

Polyphony

The concept of polyphony (hereafter highlighted in purple) was introduced in the field of enunciative analysis by Oswald Ducrot (1984, 2014), who based his investigations on the work of Mikhail Bakhtin (1984 [1929], 2014). Ducrot's theoretical reflections were later translated in a set of methods by linguists (see Nølke and Olsen 2000; Nølke 2001, 2009; Fløttum 2001, 2002, 2005) and scholars of 'French' discourse analysis (see Authier-Revuz 1982, 2014; Angermuller 2014a, 2014b). In contrast to Bakhtin, enunciative pragmatics is not concerned with the multiplicity of voices in a narrative

arrangement (for example a novel), but with the multiple points of view that populate utterances.

The seminal contribution of Ducrot's book *Le dire et le dit* (1984) consists in the distinction between locutors and enunciators. The term locutor refers to the 'beings' that are seen as responsible for an utterance. Ducrot emphasises that this formal position does not *necessarily* map onto the position of a physical being (see Ducrot 1984, 193–94). Rather, locutors can best be described as tied to the deictic markers of discursive persons, which I have introduced above. By contrast, the notion enunciator refers to the multiple points of view that are arranged by the locutor. Resorting to the metaphor of a theatre, Ducrot describes the locutor as a stage director, who organises the appearances of enunciative positions that are assumed, or rejected from their privileged perspective (ibid., 205).

This conception is best illustrated with an example:

> Secure borders do not mean that we are constructing fortress Europe – *Cecilia Malmström* (European Commission 2011b)

The responsibility for the above utterance is assumed by a textual locutor denominated as 'Cecilia Malmström'. With this additional information, we can map the locutor to the discursive position of the Swedish politician, who held the institutional position of the European Commissioner for Home Affairs from 2010 to 2014. Bracketing the complexity of the deictic marker 'we' for the time being, this utterance contains at least two enunciative points of view, which are orchestrated by the marker 'not'. The position that is assumed by the discursive 'we' ('secure borders do not lead to the construction of a fortress Europe') implies a *second*, rejected position that claims that this is indeed the case. Here, the first point of view is logically predicated upon the recognition of a second, virtual position ('secure borders do lead to the construction of a fortress Europe'). In this way, a critical position is virtually present in the enunciative space of European policymaking.

Enunciative pragmatics is interested in the play of polyphony that unfolds in the material. Expanding on the work of Ducrot, scholars have systematised the formal positions (see Nølke 2001, 2009) and markers of polyphony (see Fløttum 2001, 2002, 2005) in what they call the *Scandinavian theory of linguistic polyphony* (ScaPoLine).

Henning Nølke proposes to distinguish between four components of polyphony – locutor, points of view, discursive beings, and enunciative connectors:

> The locutor (…) is responsible for the enunciation, (…) and constructs the elements that compose the polyphonic configuration. Points of view (…) are semantic entities that imply a source that is said to hold the point of view. The sources are abstract beings that are called enunciators. (...) Discursive beings are semantic entities that shall saturate the enunciators. Enunciative connectors relate discursive beings to points of view. (Nølke 2001; my translation)

The major contribution of ScaPoLine consists in a conceptual apparatus that addresses these different components in their nested quality. For example, it allows us to analyse not only simple, but also hierarchized and relational configurations of different points of view. And while Ducrot only focuses on connectors that signal disagreement or denial, ScaPoLine points to a whole range of formal markers that indicate polyphony. On the basis of Kjersti Fløttum's work, an extended set of formal connectors encompasses markers such as 'not', 'no', 'never', 'because', 'but', 'un-', 'in-', 'maybe', or 'but' (see Fløttum 2001, 2002, 2005).

While Angermuller (2014a, 43–50) agrees with the basic assumptions of ScaPoLine, he points to the problem that the play of polyphony can often go on without an end. On the level of formalisation and analysis, this produces highly complicated tables of nested points of view, which are hard to read. Based on the observation that everyday readers also stop at some point to pin down the polyphonic excess, Angermuller proposes conducting a "polyphonic test", in which "the points of view that constitute the utterance are transformed into utterances of their own":

> [T]he 'polyphonic test' reveals the Other that the locutor evokes in the enunciation. In order to test the polyphonic configuration of the utterance, it is necessary to transform its points of view into a dialogue of different individuals. This is indeed what we unconsciously do in everyday situations when we try to understand ambiguous or ambivalent utterances. We interpret the utterance by distinguishing its points of view and linking them with certain real or imaginary interlocutors. (Angermuller 2014a, 49)

In my research, I will use this procedure to perform an analysis of enunciative polyphony that is methodologically concise, but transparent and readable at the same time. In the context of my materialist approach to discourse, polyphony allows grasping two central moments of discursive materiality. First, the relational

arrangement of different points of views testifies to struggles over meaning. And second, polyphony allows accounting for the power of absence, because the construction of points of view that are assumed by the privileged discourse participants logically relies on the recognition of virtual points of view.

In this light, polyphony is a highly useful tool to analyse the power relations that infuse enunciative spaces and practices of discursive bordering. In the following section, I will introduce a further dimension of discursive heterogeneity: discursive memory.

Discursive memory in preconstructs

In the history of discourse analysis (and especially in its materialist versions), (discursive) memory always had a complicated stand (see Beetz and Schwab 2017c). Challenged by the encounter between Marxist historical materialism and psychoanalytic perspectives that emphasise the workings of the unconscious, psychological repression, and ideological misrecognition, its proponents conceived of ways to analyse discursive memory without giving up the methodological standards they had set themselves. This resulted in the conception of discursive memory as preconstructs (hereafter highlighted in yellow).

Put in Marxist terms, they tried to come up with a historical-materialist conception of history for discourse analysis, which did not relapse into a historicism that was frowned upon in Althusserian circles. More specifically, they were looking for ways to scrutinise what I have earlier called 'the power of absence' on the materialised surface of utterances. For Pêcheux and Catherine Fuchs, the answer to this problem led to a theory of preconstruction (Pêcheux and Fuchs 1975; Pêcheux [1975] 1982). In Pêcheux's *Language, Semantics, and Ideology*, the term preconstruct refers to "what is thought before, elsewhere or independently (…) of a sentence" (Pêcheux [1975] 1982, 64). Basically, the formal-qualitative analysis of preconstructs allows acknowledging the excess of history (or the historical overdetermination) of any given discursive formation.

Angermuller condenses its core features as follows:

> By way of the preconstruct, something outside protrudes into discourse and presents itself as a self-explanatory knowledge, needing no justification. A central component in Pêcheux's theory of discursive formation, the preconstruct refers to the social and institutional conditions of production in which a discourse emerges. Additionally, it underscores the interdiscursive nature of discourse. Thus, discourse is not the expression of a single source; there are always other people speaking along; this is what the preconstruct's sudden appearance testifies to. The preconstruct manifests itself in the fissures and rifts of interdiscourse, by which discourse signals that it is not one with itself. (Angermuller 2014a, 50)

According to Angermuller, preconstructed knowledge is most frequently symbolised by nominalisations "whereby an utterance loses not only the textual images of the locutor (I, *mine* …), but also its source of enunciation".

> By means of nominalization, utterances are transformed into individual words: *I want, you want, he wants, we want… → will; I am proud that…, you are proud of… → pride.* In this way, nominalizations render what was said before and elsewhere by somebody else, and the subject of discourse has no choice but to appear in the name of an anonymous institutional power which has already said and decided everything (…). Certain verbs, like testify to, contribute to, require, characterized by, is accompanied by (for example The pride of x testifies to the will to y …), are especially suitable for this type of discourse. (Angermuller 2014a, 51–52)

Again, this can be illustrated with the example of migration discourse. Across different discursive contexts, migration discourse is stabilised by the nominalisation 'migration'. The preconstruct 'migration' does not only obfuscate the agency of people on the move (who migrates?). It is also overdetermined by a bunch of previous, highly competitive acts of construction. These acts are masked in the many cases, in which 'migration' is used as a self-evident label to describe the physical movements of human beings between nation states. Here, preconstruction obscures that the social fact of movement only becomes meaningful as 'migration' in relation to the cognate construction of a space of movements and its borders.

The enunciative analysis of preconstructs adds a concern for a further dimension of heterogeneity to the formal-qualitative toolkit for my research project. Together with the formal markers that enable analysing the discursive construction of subjectivities,

time, and space, the tools introduced in this part of the chapter allow addressing the material-discursive excess of discursive formations.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced and developed tools and methods for analysing discursive practices of bordering. In the first part of the chapter, I have re-articulated enunciative pragmatics with its materialist beginnings, in order to grasp the double excess of borders and migration in the light of my theoretical framework. With my materialist take on enunciative analysis, it becomes possible to bridge three widespread divisions in the field of Discourse Studies.

In the first part, I proposed to conceive of discourse analysis as an analytical practice 'without borders', which moves between theory discourse, methodological discourse, and object discourse. In doing so, the 'open' understanding of discourse as a formation without a clear inside and outside that animates post-structuralist theorising is taken seriously on two levels: as a fundamental principle for the composition of an analytical corpus *and* for the construction of methods.

Second, a materialist take extends the analytical grasp of enunciative pragmatics by placing a concern for macro-historical and situated forms of analysis alongside its more conventional, micro-analytical implementation. Made necessary by the heterogeneity of my research object, these extensions allow for a more versatile use of enunciative pragmatics across different spatial and temporal contexts.

Third, my version of discourse analysis is an explicitly political and reflexive endeavour, which acknowledges the conditions and relations of production, struggles, and situated knowledges, without flattening the constitutive heterogeneity of discourse. At the same time, I have shown that this does not necessarily come at the expense of a systematic and reflected empirical analysis.

Taken together, I argue that these three steps represent one possible answer to Pêcheux's call to redefine a politics of discourse analysis. With the words of Jean-Jacques Courtine and Jean-Marie Marandin, (materialist) discourse analysis is "transitory": "Such is the destiny of thought: we need to construct sewing machines to rip false totalities" (Courtine and Marandin 1981, 30; my translation).

Colour scheme

Subjectivity

Temporality

Spatiality

Polyphony

Preconstructs

In the second part, I have put together a toolkit for the formal-qualitative analysis of discursive practices of bordering. These tools have in common that they analyse the formal enunciative configuration of utterances in relation to their material-discursive context. This allows investigating the heterogeneity of discourse through the discursive construction of subjectivity, time, and space, as well as by looking at the effects of discursive polyphony and memory. The colour scheme that has been introduced in this chapter is reproduced in the adjacent box. Consistently used in the analysis chapters, it assures comparability throughout this thesis.

In the following chapter, I will analyse the discursive bordering of the EUropean space of movements from a macro-historical point of view.

Chapter 3: Discursive Borders and the EUropean Space of Movements

> The problem of migration offers to the mind all the attractions of the unknown. When it comes to the movements of animal breeds, no law, indeed no explanation seems to satisfy reason; (…) Humans, whose doings and gestures are more accessible to our mind, offer a clearer field of observations. The explanation of their migrations is simple. (…) Humans emigrate to live. (Guernier 1933, 7–8; my translation)

While one might dwell on the boldness of Eugène Guernier's claim, his take on migration is indeed quite simple: humans move to live. However, it is not this finding that makes his review of European migration from 1815 to 1933 pertinent today. Entitled 'Africa: Europe's field of expansion' (*L'Afrique: Champ d'expansion de l'Europe*, Guernier 1933), his study of migration serves an ideological project. The colonial advocate and erstwhile member of the French colonial government in Morocco aimed at promoting European migration to Africa as a solution for Europe's interwar depression and a perceived demographic pressure, thus rebooting Europe's colonial ventures in Africa in terms of a community effort.

As Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson remind us in their remarkable work, both the project of European integration (see Hansen and Jonsson 2015) and the EU's contemporary governance of migration (see Hansen and Jonsson 2011) are deeply connected to the legacies of the Eurafrican project. They show that this colonial legacy, which starts long before the idea of Europe was cast into its institutional shape, is very much obfuscated by a "presentist perspective" that characterises studies of migration to Europe. People move to live – while Guernier and his fellow Eurafricanists thus justified the necessary "penetration" (sic; Guernier 1933, 55ff.) of Africa by European migrants, the vitality of survival is not conceded in the opposite case.

In this chapter, I propose to adopt a macro-historical, 'non-presentist' perspective on discursive borders and the discursive constitution of the EUropean space of movements. This is done through a fine-grained enunciative analysis of five core EU policy documents in the field of borders and migration, which are contextualised in relation to broader historical processes and colonial practices of bordering. For this

purpose, enunciative pragmatics will be extended with a historical-materialist sensibility. This involves complementing the micro-analytical gaze of the enunciative toolbox with a concern for macro-historical processes and formations in general, and the postcolonial condition more specifically.

According to Hansen and Jonsson,

> the presence of Africans in Europe was an absurdity, an offence, whereas the presence of Europeans in Africa was a necessity. It is on this level that we discover the remarkable constancy of the Eurafrican project from its inception until present: there is always free movement, agency, and driving force, but only from one direction. (Hansen and Jonsson 2011, 273)

Indeed, it is remarkable how differential im/mobilities along the same spatial trajectories have been and continue to be regarded as a matter of course. Arguably, such distinctions need to be stabilised with discursive borders, discursive practices of differentiation that distinguish and discriminate between 'forms' and 'types' of movement in a given space.

In this light, Guernier's 'simple' argument not only hinges on the discursive construction of European colonialism as a "moral and highly civilizing endeavour" aimed at "the gradual elevation of the living standards of non-developed races" (Guernier 1933, VII; my translation) – read: the superiority of Europe that is imagined as a *white* space. It is also characterized by a complete omission[39] of concomitant movements to and through Europe, which increased drastically in the interwar period (see Skran 1995) – a fact so prominent that it could not have slipped Guernier's attention.

Both acts of discursive bordering, their intricate relationship, as well as the role they play for the contemporary governance of migrations in the EUropean space of movements *and* their study will be explored in this chapter.

[39] At least nearly: In a section on England, Guernier is full of contempt for the country's "socialist doctrine", in which "'living without working' is a right assured by those who produce by working", while the unemployed would flock to France to visit tourist attractions and the Côte d'Azur (Guernier 1933, 20–21). Evidently, the subject position of 'welfare scroungers' already existed in the 1930s.

The corpus

Through the lens of milestone EU policy documents in the field of migration, I explore how a differentiated EUropean space of circulation is constituted in ambivalent discursive practices of bordering between 1997 and 2014. An exploratory review of all 139 conclusions of the European Council since its first session in 1975 showed that migration constituted an ongoing issue from the late 1970s. Contrary to a widespread assumption, this is also true for the issue of asylum, which first surfaces as early as 1986 and has been present since then. However, it was not before the mid-1990s that 'migration' was addressed in a more comprehensive way.

The Treaty of Amsterdam (European Communities 1997) is commonly regarded as the advent of a genuinely European governance of migration (see Geddes and Boswell 2011, 9–12). With the creation of the *Area of Freedom, Security and Justice* (AFSJ), two hitherto separate policy areas were legally and politically incorporated into the EU: the governance of migration *within* and *to* the EU. This was done by bringing together the Schengen acquis[40], which regulates the free movement of EU citizens and differentiates between the internal and the external borders of the Union, with policies on external borders, visa, asylum, as well as residence and work of non-EU citizens. The successive 'normalisation' of migration as an EU issue is reflected in a number of high-profile working programmes written by the European Council aimed at setting the agenda for EU policymaking in the AFSJ.

These documents allow grasping the EU's political status-quo and aspirations in the field of migration, as seen from the perspective of the European Council[41]. The Council has no legislative powers and is alternately regarded as overloaded, overly optimistic and cautious, or confronted with over-expectations (see Bache et al. 2014, 256–57). However, it is also the discursive epicentre of EU policymaking, attracting

[40] Schengen started as an intergovernmental agreement (1985) and convention (1990) between the Benelux countries, Germany, and France. Today, it comprises the members of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland, and all EU member states apart from the UK and Ireland (due to opt-outs), as well as Croatia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Cyprus (which are stuck in the membership process).

[41] The European Council is a periodic summit gathering the EU's heads of states and government, the Council president, the president of the Commission, and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. Figuring at the top of the EU's council hierarchy, it provides overall political guidance – especially in areas that are regarded as 'high politics'. It is sometimes confused with the Council of the European Union, which forms one of the focal points of EU legislation, and the Council of Europe, which is a non-EU body promoting human rights and democracy.

public attention beyond the rather opaque workings of Brussel's bureaucracy. This exposed status makes it a prime starting point for scrutinising major developments in the EU's discourse on migration.

The concrete corpus for this chapter encompasses two types of documents. The programmes of *Tampere* (European Council 1999), *The Hague* (European Council 2005), and *Stockholm* (European Council 2010), as well as the *Strategic Agenda for the Union in Times of Change* (European Council 2014)[42] outline the European Council's guidelines for the respective legislative cycles. The *Global Approach to Migration* (GAM, Council of the European Union 2005) and the *Global Approach to Migration and Mobility* (GAMM, European Commission 2011a) are partially composed by the Commission and the Council of the EU, but constitute important 'branches' that directly emanate from and feed back into these working programmes. This intertextuality is made explicit by a number of mutual references. Even if drafted by other bodies, the enunciative responsibility for all documents analysed below is explicitly assumed by the European Council.

All five policy documents that constitute the concrete corpus have been subjected to a fine-grained enunciative analysis in their entirety. They are marked by a relative scarcity of enunciative markers, and a quasi-absence of discursive subjectivity. The few exceptions have been included in this chapter, in conjunction with discursive sequences that allow to explore the historical conditions and relations of production of the EUropean space of movements. Here, a particular focus is put on the intersecting discursive construction of time, space, and subjectivity, which is analysed in a postcolonial framework.

Enunciative analysis as a macro-historical perspective

In the following, I will scrutinise a set of practices of discursive bordering with a relatively high stability over time. To this end, enunciative pragmatics is mobilised in

[42] The lack of innovative content and the unusually modest presentation of the 2014 *Strategic Agenda* has led some observers to conclude that it does not constitute a fully-fledged working 'programme'. And indeed, it has never been designated as such. Interpretations for this deviation range from evoking the turmoil around the nomination of a new candidate for the Commission presidency (see Emmanouilidis 2014), a way to reach easy consensus over the contentious issue of migration (see Collett 2014; Bruycker 2014), or a relapse from the AFSJ into intergovernmental negotiation (see Carrera and Guild 2014).

terms of a macro-historical perspective on the discursive construction of time, space, subjectivity, as well as preconstructs and discursive polyphony. This allows accounting for practices of discursive bordering with a high degree of structuration and continuity across temporal and spatial contexts. In doing so, the analytical grasp of enunciative pragmatics, which is mostly used as a micro approach, is extended with a concern for macro phenomena (see chapter 2, 69ff.).

This chapter is particularly interested in exploring the colonial conditions and relations of production that infuse the EU's contemporary policymaking in the field of migration. Adopting a historical-materialist perspective of analysis involves scrutinising how Europe's colonial history underpins the conceptual apparatus of EU migration policy and contemporary practices of discursive bordering. This historical perspective will serve as an analytical backdrop for the following two chapters, which successively 'zoom in' and scrutinise practices of discursive bordering in German discourses on EUropean migration (chapter 4), and from the situated perspective of a migrant struggle (chapter 5). At the same time, this chapter argues for a historically informed analysis and critique of the EUropean migration regime.

Outline

In a first step, I look at the ambivalent discursive construction of the EUropean space of movements in the EU's core policy documents on migration. By showing how the discursive bordering of this space resonates with a post-colonial construction of internal and external difference, I prepare the ground for a historical analysis of discursive borders in EUrope.

Against this background, I explore the biophysical violence that is inherent in the EUropean border regime. I do this by showing how contemporary practices of discursive bordering in the EUropean space are simultaneously marked by homogenising and differentiating tendencies. Together, these tendencies systematically externalise the material-discursive reality of migrant death from what is conceived of as a homogenous EUropean space.

Finally, I discuss how contemporary practices of discursive bordering in the field of EU policymaking are reminiscent of a colonial gesture of differentiation. Here, I argue that we are confronted with more than a mere formal resemblance or linear continuity.

Colonial logics of bordering and a power imbalance between subjects and objects of discursive bordering are rearticulated and updated within contemporary relations and conditions of knowledge production on people's movements in the EUropean context.

1. Bordering the EUropean Space of Movements

Evaluating the academic literature on EU policymaking in the area of migration, it is striking that 'Europe', the foundational spatial category of analysis, is mostly treated as a more or less unproblematic frame of reference. Investigating the Europeanisation of migration governance or multi-level negotiations between different national and institutional actors, the wider meaning of the preconstruct 'Europe' is usually not unpacked by migration scholars (see for example Koslowski 1998a; Geddes and Boswell 2011; Fauri 2015; Geddes and Scholten 2016). Similar to the 'methodological nationalism' in Migration Studies diagnosed by Thomas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller (2002), the Europeanisation literature is marked by what could be called a methodological institutionalism: Europe, the EU, and its member states are mostly treated as more or less unproblematic and discrete frames of reference, in which the geographical, cultural, and ideological dimensions of space are collapsed.[43]

This becomes symptomatically visible in Andrew Geddes and Christina Boswell's comprehensive book on *Migration and Mobility in the European Union* (2011). Its authors insist that "[i]t is the borders of states that make international migration visible as a distinct social process" and that "the categories and meanings attached to international migration at Europe's borders (…) are central to the analysis" (Geddes and Boswell 2011, 13). However, they neglect an important ideological dimension of this process by treating Europe and the EU synonymously, thus failing to address a fundamental moment in the bordering of the space they look at. Beyond terminological quibbles, this slip is problematic because the conception of the EUropean space of movements is here narrowly derived from an institutional edifice (the EU).

[43] On the level of theory, this methodological institutionalism is mirrored in Ernst B. Haas's neo-functionalist integration theory, which conceives of Europeanisation in terms of a teleological series of 'spill-overs' from the national to the supranational (see Haas [1958] 2004). Integration theory continues to have a strong influence on the academic literature (see Wiener and Diez 2005) and the political discourse (see Diez 1999) about Europeanisation.

By contrast, I argue that the very idea of a *European* space and its borders, as well as the conceptualisation of movements to and through this space are marked by a *specific* history that reaches beyond (but resonates in) the realm of the EU's institutions. In the following, I will problematise some of the historical particularities of the spatial-discursive construction of EUrope by accounting for the post-colonial relations in which migration policies are conceived.

Points of departure: the Tampere conclusions (1999)

The Tampere summit conclusions (European Council 1999) are the Council's first multi-annual working programme as laid out in the treaty of Amsterdam (European Communities 1997). Setting out milestones for the AFSJ, this document merits special attention not only for its 'inaugural' quality. It also contains one of the few instances in which the slippery surface of the Council conclusions, which are usually clinically devoid of any traces of subjectivity, shows some fissures.

Example 1 **Bordering the EUropean space**

2. The European Union has already put in place for its citizens the major ingredients of a shared area of prosperity and peace: a single market, economic and monetary union, and the capacity to take on global political and economic challenges. (1) The challenge of the Amsterdam Treaty is now to ensure that freedom, which includes the right to move freely throughout the Union, can be enjoyed in conditions of security and justice accessible to all. (2) It is a project which responds to the frequently expressed concerns of citizens and has a direct bearing on their daily lives. (3)

3. This freedom should not, however, be regarded as the exclusive preserve of the Union's own citizens (4). Its very existence acts as a draw to many others world-wide who cannot enjoy the freedom Union citizens take for granted. (5) It would be in contradiction with Europe's traditions to deny such freedom to those whose circumstances lead them justifiably to seek access to our territory. (6) This in turn requires the Union to develop common policies on asylum and immigration, while taking into account the need for a consistent control of external borders to stop illegal immigration and to combat those who organise it and commit related international crimes. (7)

(European Council 1999, 1) [*Tampere Programme*]

Example 1 is taken from the first page of the document. While the utterances (4) and (5) are marked by a high density of discourse markers and are therefore particularly relevant from an enunciative point of view, the remainder also merits attention beyond its merely co-textual quality. Orchestrated by temporal markers ("already" (1) versus "now" (3) and a paragraph as a visual break, the above extract represents a transitory moment mediating between what has been "put in place" (1-2) and a future "project" (3-7). Outlining a (speculative) vision against the background of what is constructed as an unequivocal given, a detailed analysis of this moment sheds light on both the self-conception of the Council at a crucial moment, and on the bordering of space and subjectivity it involves.

From an enunciative point of view, the above sequence sets a privileged zero-point, in relation to which the successive utterances in the text are staged. Following a procedure developed by Jean-Jacques Courtine, I propose to treat it as a "discursive reference sequence", against the background of which the other elements of the analytical corpus receive their organisation (see Courtine 1981, 54). Most notably, it helps to ascertain the characteristic enunciative organisation of a power relation in a given institutional context (EU policy making) and historical conjuncture. While the setting of a zero-point usually happens through the invocation of a personal relation ('I' versus 'you'), the Council's discourse is absolutely devoid of these forms. Consequently, the identification of an enunciative point of reference is displaced onto the institutional-collective level, and thus on a more ambiguous plane (see Achard 1993; as well as chapter 2, 81ff.).

On a basic level, a binary differentiation between an 'inside' ("The European Union" and "its citizens" (1); "our territory" (6)) and an 'outside' ("others world-wide" (5)) is performed. It folds onto the temporal orchestration illustrated above, thereby setting the European 'inside' as a given starting point from which the undefined 'outside', entering the stage only in terms of a future project, is discerned. Matching the 'inside' to the institutional speaker of the statements (the European Council), this creates an enunciative hierarchy by conceiving of the non-European other as a secondary, anonymous and merely derivative position, and forecloses the possibility that it has already been materially present *within* the material and discursive space of 'Europe' from the beginning.

However, the idea of a smooth and homogeneous bordering between an inside and an outside is not only challenged by the physical movements of people that have been crisscrossing Europe's geographies for centuries, long before its institutional identity emerged. Put simply, movements to and through EUrope have always been the norm, rather than an exception. [44] It is further troubled by the simultaneous presence of three 'Europes' that are juxtaposed in the above example: The institutional ("the European Union" (1)), the geographical ("movements (…) throughout the Union" (3); "our territory" (6)), and the cultural ("Europe's traditions" (6)). In this context, the indefinite reference to a collective 'we' in (6) can potentially be filled with any of these conceptions, thus installing a fundamental heterogeneity of meaning right at the centre of the conception of EUropean space. Thus, at the very moment in which the EU seeks to reinvent its governance of migration, it is haunted by the discursive excess of meaning around 'Europe', the foundational spatial category that figures so prominently in its own name. Yet, in the EU's policy discourse on migration, 'Europe' is used without any explication.[45]

Recently, migration scholars started to use the term *EUrope* to point to the discursive torsion of the geographical, institutional, and historical-ideological layers of meaning in migration discourse (see for example Bialasiewicz 2012; Perkowski 2016; Stierl 2016). In my writing, I have adopted the same strategy to make this complexity visible, at least partially. However, it is still necessary to look carefully at how the signifier 'Europe' functions as a foundational preconstruction that encapsulates a whole history of violent in- and exclusions, and unfolds a range of meanings in different discursive contexts.

With the words of Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Europe' is a "figure of imagination" and does not have a clear geographical referent, but is "hyperreal" at the same time (Chakrabarty 2008, 27-28). Across the Council conclusions analysed for this chapter, 'Europe' is presented as a matter of course, which does not need to be unpacked while treated as coextensive with the institutional space of the EU. The moments at which its reified, pre-constructed quality is exposed on the textual surface, as is the case in the above

[44] See Bade (2003) and Moch (2003) for a comprehensive general history of migrations to and through Europe since the 17th century, as well as Moulier Boutang (1998) for a more specialised reading of the history of mobility alongside the history of wage labour and capitalist exploitation.

[45] However, especially in its early days, the EU has put much effort into fixing the meaning of Europe through what Chris Shore calls 'cultural politics of integration' (see Shore 2000).

example, are rare. This widespread simplification, which is also at work in the Europeanisation literature, obfuscates the myriad practices of bordering by which the EUropean space of movements is (over-)determined historically, and continuously reinvented in the present.

Since the Tampere conclusions were published in 1999, the EU has undergone four rounds of institutional enlargements, resulting in more than a doubling of its membership from 12 to 28 nation states, as well as in concomitant shifts of its institutional borders and discursive 'others'[46]. Thus, while the EUropean space is presented as a self-evident unit that maps onto the institutional space of the EU in the Council conclusions, its borders have undergone constant change. Rather than with a stable space and clearly discernible movements *to* and *through* the EU, we are confronted with ambivalent and shifting discursive borders of a EUropean space of movements. As will be shown both in this and subsequent chapters, this vacillation has material effects for those moving within and across this space.

Multiple Europes

Looking at EU enlargement discourse, Iver B. Neumann points to the fact that 'Europe' is a flexible and deeply ambiguous construction, whose inside and outside continuously shifts in the context of debates on European integration. Crucially, and in line with the emphasis of "Europe's traditions" (6) as a distinctive feature of the EU's identity in the Tampere programme, Neumann shows that being recognised as 'European' is a fundamental precondition to be even considered (or rejected) as a *potential* member of the Union (Neumann 1998). According to Manuela Boatcă, the EU "has been gradually monopolizing the label of 'Europe' such that only current member states of the European Union, or those about to become members are considered 'European' and consequently included in the term" (Boatcă 2013). Both Neumann and Boatcă emphasise the fact that the construction of differences plays a constitutive role for the EUropean space. In this light, it can be presumed that disputes

[46] Between 1999 and 2014 (the timeframe covered by this chapter), the EU has been joined by Malta, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary and Akrotiri and Dhekelia (all in 2004), Bulgaria, Romania and Clipperton (in 2007), Saint Martin (2012), Croatia (2013), and Mayotte (2014).

over belonging and in- /exclusion represent a context in which practices of discursive bordering are in the spotlight.

The Tampere conclusions give view to a discursive struggle over the conception of EUrope as a space of freedom. As in large parts of EU policy discourse, the preconstruct 'freedom' is here co-textually defined in relation to the common market and the freedom of movement within the EU. However, its contested status becomes visible in a complex play of polyphony that unfolds in one of the core sections of the document. The polyphonic markers "not" (4) and "cannot" (5) create a stack of discursive points of view regarding the borders of 'freedom'. This is shown in example 2.

Example 2	**The borders of freedom**
Freedom…	
pov_0	… should not be exclusive to EU citizens. (4)
pov_1	… should be exclusive to EU citizens. (4)
pov_2	… acts as a draw to those who cannot enjoy it. (5)
pov_3	… acts as a draw to those who can enjoy it. (5)

Framed by utterances pointing to the concerns, as well as the consequences for the lives of EU citizens (3), as well as to the committing nature of "Europe's traditions" (6), the above configuration prominently features in the debate on the borders of EUrope. At first glance, it performs a relatively clear-cut bordering between citizens and non-citizens of the EU. What is interesting, however, is precisely that which is presupposed and *not* opened up for discussion: the assertion that freedom is a reality for EU citizens, and that it acts as a 'pull factor' for the movements of people.

First, the assertion that 'push' and 'pull' factors determine individuals' decisions for (and against) migration is a core feature of migration theories in the field of Economics, most notably of neoclassic models (see for example Ravenstein 1885) and the so called 'new economics of migration' (Stark 1991, 2003). These approaches have long been criticised by migration scholars for their economic reductionism and methodological individualism, as well as their inability to grasp the movements of

people in terms of a complex historical and social phenomenon that undermines its representation in a simplified model (see chapter 2, 23ff.). This critique is supported by recent empirical findings on the complexity of motivations that underpin movements to (see for example Czaika and de Haas 2013; Crawley et al. 2016) and through EUrope (see for example The Migration Observatory 2016). Yet, the idea of clearly discernible 'push' and 'pull' factors remains tenaciously present in the public and academic discourse on migration. In the above example, the construction of freedom as a pull factor effectively constructs a trade-off between the intra-European freedom of movement of EU citizens, and movements to the EU.

Second, the assumption that the EUropean space of movements constitutes an even space of freedom is inherently problematic. In her essay on *Multiple Europes and the Politics of Difference Within* (2013), Boatcă shows that Europe is historically shaped by a "moral geography",

> an ontological and moral scale ranging from a Western part, whose modern, democratic and pacific character – and therefore superiority – remain unquestioned, up to a backward, violent and inferior part – as such of questionable Europeanness – almost always located in the Balkan countries. (Boatcă 2013, 2)

In this context, it is worth bearing in mind that at the time of the Tampere agreement, the hitherto biggest shift of the EU's external borders towards Eastern and South-Eastern Europe was yet to come. Following Boatcă's argument, the construction of difference that was once congruent with the institutional borders of the EU has been steadily re-articulated in terms of a difference *within* Europe over the course of the Union's institutional expansion.

However, contrary to what might be expected, its enlargement does not constitute a major focus of the Council conclusions. If it is mentioned at all, it tends to be related to issues of security, judicial compliance, and trust. This effectively confirms Boatcă's thesis of a moral geography that unsettles the idea of a homogenous EUropean space of equal 'partners'. As I will show in the following chapter, this unevenness is mirrored in a discursive bordering between 'good' and 'bad' mobile subjects, which is strikingly reminiscent of EUrope's 'old' territorial borders in the East and South (see chapter 4, 133ff.).

In his reflections on *Migration, Race, and Post-coloniality in 'Europe'* (2016), Nicholas de Genova proceeds along similar lines. For de Genova, coloniality is a condition that cuts across what is (now) imagined as an even European space:

> The diversity within the larger European constellation refers us to a profoundly uneven history: the ways in which the colonial projects of some European nation states often began 'at home' with the subjugation of their European neighbors, or with the 'internal' colonization of purportedly 'backward' provinces of their presumptive 'national' territories. (De Genova 2016, 353)

It becomes apparent that the construction of a EUropean space of movements historically relies on the combination of an internal and an external dimension of colonialism that cuts through the convenient distinction between European and non-European migrations. Colonial difference is not only constitutive of the EUropean space by bordering it off from an outside, but reduplicates these borders within this space. At the same time, the physical movements of people are recoded from movements *to* into movements *through* EUrope. This means that the movements of people are not endowed with meaning and turned into an object of governance exclusively on the basis of their geographical origin. Rather, they are discursively materialised as ('legal', 'illegal', 'refugee', or 'labour') migrations in a specific spatial and historical context.

For de Genova, Europe and these movements can therefore never be apprehended in terms of an unproblematic point of reference, but only as a question: "There is no stable space of 'Europe' towards which the figure of 'migration' can be understood to move, as from an imagined periphery towards a presumably fixed centre" (ibid., 344). Drawing on the seminal work of W.E.B. Du Bois, he reminds us of the *specific* history of the European construction:

> [T]he supranational configuration of a new 'Europe' and its concomitant 'European' identity, which has been underway now for many years (particularly since the end of the Cold War), can only be apprehensible in terms of a historically prior, comparably supranational formation of European 'community', one that was predicated historically on Europe's colonial relation to the globe, and similarly constituted on the material and practical basis of a global regime of white supremacy… Here, after all, lest we forget, we are speaking precisely of *Europe*. (ibid., 349)

Unsurprisingly, *this* meaning of Europe is absent from the textual surface of the Council conclusions. However, it resurfaces in the EU's more recent reorientation of migration policy beyond its institutional borders. This trend, which can be observed since the early 2000s, is especially present in the *Global Approach to Migration* (Council of the European Union 2005) and the *Global Approach to Migration and Mobility* (European Commission 2011a). In the academic literature, it is commonly discussed in terms of an 'externalisation' of the EUropean border regime that comprises intensified efforts to manage and control migration beyond its territory (see for example Betts and Milner 2006; Carrera and Hernández i Sagrera; Casas-Cortes, Cobarrubias, and Pickles 2015). However, in the light of my discussion in this chapter, the idea of a *new* externality is questionable. To put it more bluntly, Europe has (literally and figuratively) always already been 'elsewhere', which is not least evident in the fact that the EU's current institutional space materially stretches overseas, superseding any classical continental imagination.

Nowhere in the Council conclusions is Europe's colonial legacy addressed explicitly. But despite this reticence, every single discursive instance of the foundational preconstruct 'Europe' and its derivatives resonates with the history of Europe's colonialist imperialism, and the corresponding regimes of accumulation. While the discursive construction of a EUropean space of movements and its internal and external borders are materially predicated on colonial history, this relation of domination is also mirrored at the epistemological level, and the way the movements of people are bordered more specifically.

I will now explore two concurrent tendencies of the EUropean border regime that contribute to the discursive bordering of the EUropean space of movements: the homogenisation and differentiation of mobile subjectivities. These tendencies are explored in the light of what is arguably one of the most drastic material realities of the EUropean border regime: its inherent biophysical violence that leads to the death of moving people.

2. EUrope's Violent Discursive Borders

Until now, I have mainly been concerned with the spatial and temporal dimensions of discursive bordering that constitute the EUropean space of movement. Yet, they are deeply intertwined with the construction of a differential set of subject positions that interpellate those who move to and through this space. Discursive bordering crucially hinges on a power imbalance between bordering and bordered subjects. In the contemporary EUropean border regime, one of its core features is a pervasive combination of homogenising and differentiating perspectives on mobile subjectivities. Similar to its spatio-temporal counterparts, this dimension of discursive bordering is never straightforward. Yet, it persists with an almost incomprehensible tenacity.

In his essay *Thoughts of Sorts / Sorts of Thoughts*, the postmodernist writer Georges Perec brilliantly reflects on this conundrum:

> Plants are divided into trees, flowers, and vegetables. Stephen Leacock
>
> It's so tempting to try to sort out the whole world by a single code; to find a universal law ruling over all phenomena: two hemispheres, five continents, masculine and feminine, animal and vegetable, singular and plural, left and right, four seasons, five senses, six vowels, seven days, twelve months, twenty-six letters. Unfortunately, it doesn't work, it's never even had the slightest hope of working, it will never work. That won't prevent people carrying on for many more years trying to categorize this or that animal according to whether it has an even number of toes or hollow horns. (Perec 2009, 122)

Perec's own text is an excellent case in point for the insidious quality of discursive borders. Quoting Stephen Leacock as a cunning reference for pointing to the absurdities of sorting things, his statements shelter a second, much more political meaning, which is directly relevant to the issues at stake here. Leacock, a Canadian political scientist widely known for his 'humorous' writings, was also a fierce defendant of British colonialism.[47] Leacock's 1930 text *Economic Prosperity in the British Empire* contains a deeply racist argument against 'European' (i.e., non-British) and 'oriental' migration to Canada (Leacock, quoted in Cameron 2004). His position

[47] Recently, scholars and activists started to make Leacock's legacy and the racist, sexist, and anti-communist character of his work visible (see for example Francis 2010 and Livingstone 2014).

on European migration is quite different from the one held by his contemporary Guernier – evidently, what is seen as productive and admissible form of European migration is a matter of perspective. After all, discursive borders are flexible and can lend themselves to different ideological projects, and ambivalently facilitate and impede the movement of people. In many cases, however, the vicissitude of material-discursive borders is deadly.

The lethal quality of EUrope's material-discursive borders

The lethal quality of EUrope's material-discursive borders is tragically reflected in the migrant biography of the philosopher Walter Benjamin. Here, the biophysical violence of non/classification comes to the fore. Fleeing Nazism, Benjamin the Jew, the intellectual traveller, the migrant worker labouring under precarious conditions in his Parisian exile, the refugee, non-citizen, the detainee, who managed to cross so many borders, finally reached an impassable one. Holding valid documents to emigrate to the US, he was threatened to be sent back to France by the Spanish border authorities. Benjamin took his life in Port Bou, at the French-Spanish border in September 1940 (see Fittko 2000). As recalled by Lisa Fittko, at the time Benjamin's escape guide[48],

> [h]ad the news about border-closing reached us on the French side in time, no one would have crossed illegally, and we would have waited for further developments. Governments of all countries seemed to be involved in this 'era of new decrees', issuing commands and instructions, revoking them, first enforcing and then lifting them again. In order to get through, one had to learn to slip through the cracks and loopholes, using every trick and stratagem to slither out of this labyrinth, which was continually taking on new configurations. (Fittko 2000, 113)

Who is responsible for Walter Benjamin's death? His case reminds us not only of the necessary failure of the disjunctive logics of discursive bordering – it is impossible to categorise Benjamin's experiences of exile and refuge in a narrow set of mutually exclusive categories such as 'labour migrant' or 'refugee'. It also shows the deadly consequences a non-categorisation can entail. In Benjamin's situation, it was not so much the physical (although the hike across the Pyrenees brought him close to complete exhaustion), but more the discursive-performative dimension of borders that

[48] In the language of today's EU policy, Fittko would be probably persecuted as a 'human trafficker'.

effectively created a hopeless situation: Benjamin was excluded from the category of a 'refugee', which was yet to formally emerge in the international policy arena with the 1951 Refugee Convention (UNHCR 2010a).

In this context, it is worth reminding that the horrors of Nazism and the Shoah constituted important ethical points of reference in the discussion of the UN Convention, and led some stakeholders to advocate a more inclusive and unconditional refugee regime than implemented today (see Karatani 2005; Glynn 2012). While Fittko's memory of the irrational and rapidly changing configurations of border policies strikingly reminds us of contemporary times[49], Benjamin is remembered with a memorial in the border town Port Bou.

But precisely there, as observed by Esther Leslie, the past of his deadly fate inexorably resonates with contemporary deaths at EUrope's borders:

> The movements are many. The movers are many. They have not stopped moving. (…) And the arbitrariness of whether one is able to cross from one day to the next has not changed – or rather it bursts back into our present. Karavan's memorial to Benjamin acts now, more than ever, as a memorial to those others who are still moving. It always struck me that its view down onto the swirling Mediterranean Sea might confuse casual viewers who would think that it was there that Benjamin met his death, rather than in some grimy hotel room in the town. But today that body of Mediterranean water, not so far away, does consume the bodies of migrants and refugees – of people. And they are compelled to flee in their millions. (Leslie 2015)

In this light, challenging the presentism that infuses contemporary studies of migration is perhaps more important than ever. A historical perspective helps scrutinising the current shape of the European border regime and its pivotal categories as a contingent, and thus changeable outcome of a broader historical process that still reverberates today.

But it is not only Benjamin's migrant biography, but also his materialist and anti-historicist conception of history (Benjamin [1940] 1968) that is insightful here. The example of Benjamin pushes us to look at how Europe's past constantly 'flashes up' in contemporary practices of bordering. Beyond any assumption of linearity or

[49] For example the often erratic and rapidly shifting practices of facilitation and control along the so-called 'Balkan route' in 2014 and 2015 (see Santer and Wriedt 2017).

teleology, this allows for a critical analysis that is aware of the historical conditions and relations within which contemporary practices of discursive bordering take place and continuously remake the EUropean space of movements and its discursive borders.

The deadly quality of EUrope's contemporary borders figures prominently in the public discourse on migration, and constitutes an important point of reference for migration struggles (see Stierl 2016; as well as chapter 5, 195ff.). For the time frame between 1999 and 2013, the *Human Costs of Border Control* project at the University of Amsterdam counted 2626 dead people at the borders of Southern Europe in the *Deaths at the Borders Database* (Human Costs of Border Control 2015). Since it only records border deaths that have been documented by local authorities in Italy, Malta, Spain, Gibraltar and Greece, the actual figure is arguably much higher. According to the *Missing Migrants Project* run by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), 3279 people lost their lives in the Mediterranean in 2014 alone (IOM 2016). This deadly dimension of EUrope's border reality becomes strikingly visible on the interactive map compiled by the project *United Against Refugee* Deaths (see figure 4).

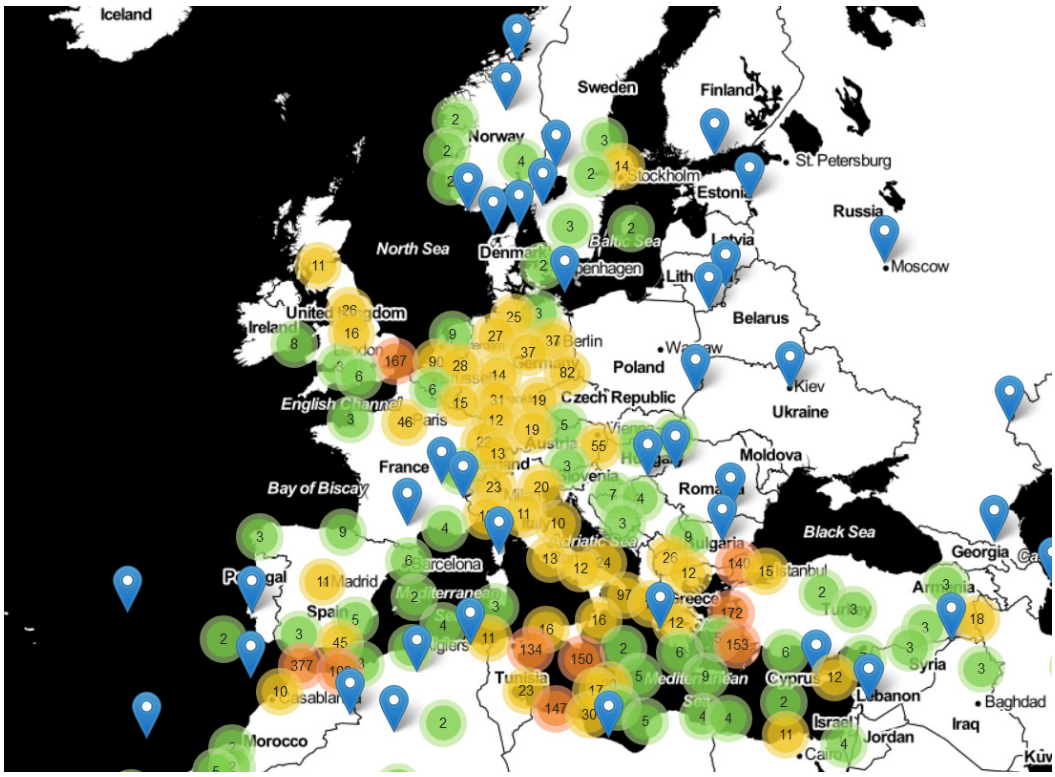

Figure 4 Number of fatalities at Europe's borders, 1997-2017 (Source: unitedagainstrefugeedeaths.eu/map)

The EU itself does not systematically gather statistical data about fatalities at its borders. Equally, the issue does not figure prominently in the policy documents analysed for this chapter. While an abstract 'loss of lives' is only mentioned in three out of seven Council conclusions (and only once each time), these sections are characterised by a striking consistency. In every single instance, the death of people on the move is related to "migration flows" that are qualified as "illegal" (European Council 2005, 5; Council of the European Union 2005, 3) or "irregular" (European Council 2014, 3). Next to the distinction between movements to and through the EU, the discursive bordering between 'legal' and 'illegal' movements is also present throughout the conclusions.

The following example is particularly interesting:

> ***Example 3*** **Ambivalent causalities of casualty**
>
> The European Council recognises that insufficiently managed migration flows can result in humanitarian disasters. (1) It wishes to express its utmost concern about the human tragedies that take place in the Mediterranean as a result of attempts to enter the EU illegally. It calls upon all States to intensify their cooperation in preventing further loss of life. (3)
>
> (European Council 2005) [*The Hague Programme*]

Here, the ambiguity of the issue becomes visible through two consecutive constructions of causality: While a link between "insufficiently managed migration flows" and "humanitarian disasters" is assumed in (1), "human tragedies (…) in the Mediterranean" are attributed to "attempts to enter the EU illegally" in (2). What might first look like a contradiction in terms can be seen as two related dimensions of discursive bordering. Present across the documents analysed, practices of homogenisation and differentiation form an uneasy, and yet complementary relationship that is rarely made explicit as such. In the following, I will look more closely at the ambivalent causalities of casualty in the *The Hague Programme* (European Council 2005), and relate it to broader dynamics and developments in the EUropean border regime.

Homogenising tendencies of EUrope's border regime

On the one side, the spatial construction in example 3 homogenises migrant death as an issue that lies outside of the territorial and political responsibility of EUrope. Indeed, in the documents analysed for this chapter, people (and their physical movements) largely disappear behind the technical, 'asubjective' language of policy discourse and its categories. However, the constitutive ambiguity of the spatial referent EUrope that became apparent in the first part of this chapter unsettles the idea of a clear cut spatial externalisation. While the Mediterranean Sea is constructed as outside of the EU in the above example, this does not represent the full complexity of the issue. In reality, the Mediterranean is a complex space crisscrossed by different zones of national and international territory, as well as legal responsibilities for state (e.g. military vessels, coastguards) and non-state actors (e.g., commercial vessels), obliging them to conduct practices of search and rescue for people in distress.

Both legally and ethically, the material-discursive externalisation of death that is characteristic for the EU's policy discourse is challenged by the public attention for cases like the 'left-to-die-boat', which has been documented by researchers in the *Forensic Oceanography* project (Heller, Pezzani, and Situ Studio 2012, 2013). Re-tracing the trajectory of a migrant boat that left Libya in 2011 using innovative methods of visualisation, spatial mapping, and modelling, they manage to show that 72 people on the move were essentially left to die in the sea under EUrope's watchful eyes. Drifting for 14 days without fuel, at the threshold of EU territory (in what is arguably one of the most closely monitored and militarised maritime spaces of the world, also see Watch the Med 2016), and despite having contact with numerous civil and non-civil vessels, no one came to their help.

In the light of Lorenzo Pezzani and Charles Heller's analysis, the spatial-discursive externalisation of biophysical violence is not a mere coincidence, but an emerging principle of EUrope's contemporary border regime, targeting movements that are profiled as 'illegal':

> EU agencies and coastal states increasingly aim to detect illegalized migrants leaving the southern coast of the Mediterranean before they enter the EU's Search and Rescue (SAR) areas (in which the corresponding states are responsible for coordinating rescues and disembarking the migrants), and inform the authorities of the southern shore of the 'distress' of the migrants, thereby de facto displacing the responsibility of rescuing and disembarking onto third countries. In this way, de facto push-backs are operated without EU patrols ever entering into contact with the migrants. Despite its humanitarian varnish, this strategy is no less deadly, since migrants repeatedly find themselves unassisted. (Pezzani and Heller 2013, 296)

The spatial construction of the Mediterranean Sea in terms of an outside can be qualified as a practice of discursive bordering that provides the backbone for a highly cynical and fundamentally inhumane dimension of migration control. As in the case of Benjamin, it is not the physical materiality of space alone that ultimately kills people on the move. The material effects of borders hinge on discursive practices, such as the political and ethical externalisation of responsibility and accountability. The material-discursive push-back of migrant death towards and across the edges of the EU's institutional borders contributes to the moral geography that is, as I have emphasised in the first section of this chapter, constitutive of the EUropean space of circulation. Migrant death, then, is discursively construed as something that happens at the threshold or beyond – and never because of – EUrope's borders, far away from Brussel's bureaucracy. At the same time, the biophysical violence of borders *within* the territory of the EU and of its regimes of detention and deportation are obfuscated through the spectacularised focus on the external borderscapes.

In the EU's contemporary border regime, biophysical violence is effective in two ways: explicitly in terms of a discursive justification for policy, and implicitly as an accepted horizon within which it operates. Both are challenged by activist projects such as *Forensic Oceanography* or *Watch the Med*, which document deaths and the violation of rights at the maritime borders of the EU. Additionally, *Watch the Med* runs an *Alarm Phone* that connects migrants in distress in the Mediterranean Sea with an activist-operated call centre, which holds state and non-state actors accountable and pushes them to proceed with search and rescue. These activist interventions are tackling the homogenising and anonymising dimension of EUrope's material-discursive borders by making their inherent biophysical violence visible. Also, and this is most pronounced in the case of *Alarm Phone*, they provide people on the move

with unconditional support that does not depend on their (presumed) legal status – this was already essential in Fittko's time.

In a situation of distress, it should not matter whether a person is profiled as a 'refugee' or a 'migrant' – at least that is the moral standard that the UNHCR advocates in a special issue on the distinction between the two 'types' of migration:

> [A]t the moment when the picture [see figure 5] was taken, the question was irrelevant. Whoever he is, he deserved to be saved – and that is precisely what the coastguards were trying to do after a boat of would-be migrants overturned off the coast of southern Spain, drowning several of its occupants including at least two pregnant women. However, once he was safely on shore, the question of whether he was a refugee or a migrant may well have come immediately to the fore. (UNHCR 2007a, 2)

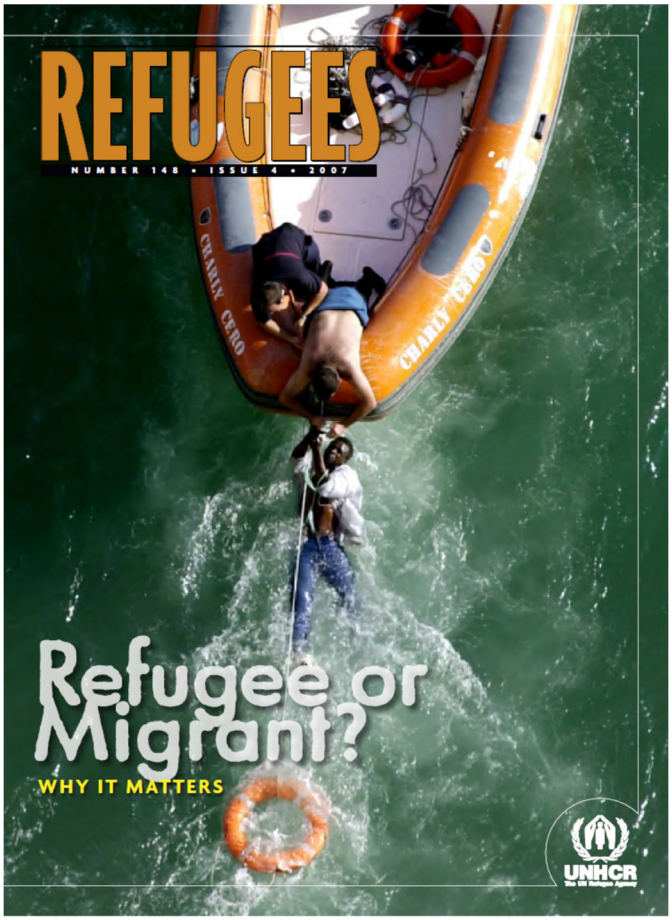

Figure 5 Cover of the last issue of UNHCR's Refugees Magazine (Source: UNHCR 2007a)

However, the homogenising tendencies of EUrope's discursive borders operate according to a binary logic that distinguishes between a clear-cut inside and outside. In this context, migrant death at EUrope's borders is recoded into an anonymous 'negative externality' in the truest sense of the term, as a problem of the 'other' (e.g., non-European states), or of the 'not-quite-self' (European states that find themselves at the margins of the EUropean construction, both geographically and figuratively). This echoes the colonial construction of external and internal difference that has been explored in the first part of this chapter. At the same time, the homogenising tendency is intimately connected with a second process, which places discursive differentiation at the core of EUrope's border regime.

Differentiating tendencies of EUrope's border regime

The differentiating tendency of EUrope's discursive borders is epitomised by the discursive construction of 'migration flows'. From the Tampere programme onwards, and across the policy documents analysed, the pre-construct of 'flows' is a pervasive conceptual device to grasp the complexity and material excess of people's movements.

The concept of 'migration flows' is neither an exclusive domain, nor an invention of EU policy discourse. In the field of migration, the rhetoric of flows has especially been promoted by the international organisations IOM and UNHCR. In a joint consultation with ILO, the concept of flows is articulated with the catchword of 'mixed migration' (UNHCR and IOM 2001; ILO 2001; UNHCR 2007b). The EU played an important part in this consultation process and its aftermath, both as a stakeholder and funder (UNHCR 2010b, 2011). In the EU, a high-level working group was set up to discuss and implement the concept in 1999 (see van Hear 2011, 3).

For policymakers, 'mixed migration flows' represent a challenge, because the physical movements of people are no longer perceived as fitting within an existing array of discrete concepts and categories, and need to be met with refined tools of identification and new conceptualisations (see for example Castles 2007; Long 2009; van Hear 2011). It is worth noting that the academic and political discussions of 'mixed migration flows' have been closely entwined from the beginning. For example, Castles, Long, and van Hear all worked in an advisory capacity for one of the organisations named above. Throughout the discussion, the differentiation between

'labour' and 'refugee' migration formed the single most prominent issue, a point that will become central to my analysis in a moment.

In the documents analysed, the relative indefiniteness of the preconstruct 'flows' opens it to a meaning that is usually rather absent from the surface of policy discourse: Movements of migration in terms of an active physical and social force, which materially exceeds practices of governance and control. This is grasped in terms of an 'autonomy of migration' in critical strands of Migration Studies (see chapter 2, 23ff.). Effectively, the discourse of 'flows' qualifies migration as a social fact by shifting the focus to how it can be governed. The question, then, is not if, but how policies can be attuned to this factuality.

This understanding pervades *People Flow*, an influential report of the liberal British think-tank DEMOS (Veenkamp, Bentley, and Buonfino 2003). Drafting a strategy for "managing migration in a New European Commonwealth", the pamphlet reads like a blueprint for the EU's working programmes after Tampere:

> [C]ontrol of migration flows seems simultaneously to be more necessary and less feasible than ever before. Control appears increasingly necessary because of growing concern about the sustainability of European prosperity and welfare. There is also anxiety about the erosion of traditional identities, and growing fear of instability, violence and conflict spilling into Europe from other parts of the world. More than half the world's population lives in abject poverty. Awareness of the gulf between the world's poor and Western European societies continues to grow as a result of growing communication and travel. The question is therefore whether a continuing influx of migrants to Europe can be absorbed in mutually beneficial ways. The prevalent feeling is that unless the influx is effectively controlled, it cannot. Unfortunately, we also have to face the fact that comprehensive control is increasingly difficult to achieve. Furthermore, the attempt produces side effects which further worsen the situation, and undermines one of the key factors in the European success story: its open society. (Veenkamp, Bentley, and Buonfino 2003, 11)

Apart from the acceptance of migration as a social fact, two elements of DEMOS's assessment are particularly worth noting. First, through the distinction between 'beneficial' and 'negative' effects of migration, a concern for what could be called the boundaries of EUropean freedom is also present here (also see example 2). Second, unlike the policy documents, the report explicitly mentions differences in wealth as a

factor that materially underpins migration. Both aspects will be explored in greater detail in the following chapters.

Now, the causal linkage between "insufficiently managed migration flows" and "humanitarian disasters" in example 3 merits special attention. Through the concept of flows, a differentialist perspective of control is present in the heart of EUrope's contemporary border regime. It does not operate with the logics of a hard, territorial border that performs a binary inside/outside decision, but displaces the issue on the epistemological level of discursive bordering. By conceptually disaggregating 'flows' into smaller portions of 'mixed migration', the material excess of the movements of migration is managed discursively. At first glance, this seems rather incompatible with the homogenising tendency discussed in the previous section. From a critical perspective, however, the two tendencies of discursive bordering have a lot in common.

In relation to the discursive obliteration of migrant death at EUrope's external borders, critical migration scholars have highlighted the fact that contemporary migration discourse is characterised by a 'politics of numbers' (Tazzioli 2015; Stierl, Heller, and De Genova 2016), which relies on a pervasive combination of discursive differentiation and quantification. This observation is supported by the findings of a research project on migration discourse in British media, which show that references to subject positions such as 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers' often go hand in hand with quantification (see Baker et al. 2008, 287).

In EU policymaking, a high priority is assigned to the collection of migration statistics, the improvement of their conceptual coherence, and the 'interoperability' of hitherto separate statistical databases. This focus on migration statistics becomes for example apparent in a special issue of Eurostat's in-house journal that focusses on the shortcomings of categorisation (Eurostat 2008), or the European Commission's policy recommendations for community statistics (European Commission 2003). The latter resulted in a regulation that seeks to harmonise definitions used in different national and institutional contexts (EU Regulation 862/2007, 2007). However, because these practices of differentiation operate within the limited horizon of EU policymaking, they are essentially resulting in homogenisation as well.

According to Maurice Stierl, Charles Heller, and Nicholas de Genova,

> [t]he strategic use of statistics generates the homogenized and aggregate representations that are decisive for erasing the individuality and political subjectivity of people on the move as well as effacing their collective struggles and hardships, and thus for portraying 'unauthorized' border crossers as a menace. (Stierl, Heller, and De Genova 2016, 22)

From a critical point of view, EUrope's "spectacle of numbers assists in the construction of illegalized migration as 'the problem' to which border and other immigration law enforcement measures must be addressed" (Stierl, Heller, and De Genova 2016, 24). In practice, as observed by Martina Tazzioli, it "sorts people into 'risk' categories, divides migrants into groups when they are disembarked at the harbour, and from time to time fixes the number of 'authorized' entries in a country" (Tazzioli 2015, 4). Practices of differentiation that happen within the narrow borders of the EU's policy categories contribute to the discursive construction of people's movements along the binary lines of legality and illegality and contribute, one might add, to the causal attribution of migrant death to the latter. What can be described as an epistemology of selective disconnection is discussed in terms of a 'differential inclusion' of mobile subjects by migration scholars (see chapter 1, 33ff.). However, these material-discursive practices of bordering are not completely stable, but confronted with an inherent surplus of meaning. As will become apparent in the following chapters, this surplus can ambivalently feed into practices of control (chapter 4) or contestation (chapter 5).

Providing a situated 'theoretical framework' and 'method' for the EU's top-down governance of a surplus of mobility, the discursive pre-construct of '(mixed) migration flows' is an important point of departure to analyse discursive practices of bordering. While its construction is in many ways specific to EUrope's contemporary border regime, practices that differentiate (and discriminate) between different types of movement have a longer history. I will now explore the historical anchoring of practices of differentiation by looking at what I call the colonial gesture of classification.

3. The Colonial Gesture of Classification

Adopting the analytical perspective of enunciative pragmatics, practices of discursive bordering can be analysed by looking at the construction of temporality, spatiality, and subjectivity. Scrutinising the entanglement of these dimensions, I argue that contemporary conceptions of migration (and control) are inseparable from the way colonial history resonates in the post-colonial present. Most notably, it is present in the construction of a EUropean space of movements and a dominant matrix of subjectivation that differentiates between degrees of 'forced' and 'free' migration, as well as the perceived legitimacy and humanity of migrant subjects.

While past and contemporary movements to and through EUrope are arguably underpinned by quite different spatio-temporal dynamics and a constant transformation of practices of bordering, they are also marked by important continuities. The diagnosis of a relative continuity is present in Stephen Castles and Mark Miller's prominent conceptualisation of modernity as an 'age of migration' (Castles and Miller 2009), or Yann Moulier-Boutang's assertion of labour-mobility as a crucial precondition for the development of modern capitalism (Moulier Boutang 1998). In both accounts, colonialism and imperialist expansion from the sixteenth century onwards are seen as going hand in hand with an important historical shift of patterns of mobility and control, and are qualified as a crucial backdrop for *any* study of its contemporary forms. Hansen and Jonsson stress, however, that this is rarely the case in contemporary Migration Studies:

> This historical dimension is precisely what is lacking in existing scholarly analyses of European migration, which are usually governed by a 'presentist' perspective. In previous scholarship there is of course much awareness of colonialism's impact on the current, path dependent migration regimes of individual EU member states, but the equally significant colonial impact of European integration's approach to the nexus of Africa and migration has gone largely unnoticed. (Hansen and Jonsson 2011, 262–63)

Against this background, I suggest analysing contemporary practices of discursive bordering in the EUropean migration regime in terms of their historical quality, with a particular sensibility for the past and present of EUrope's colonialist ventures. In the following, I will briefly expand on how a gesture of classification that characterised

the colonial governance of populations constitutes a residual process in the present governance of migration.

Historically, the gesture of "[c]lassification itself", according to Grada Kilomba, "acts as a conceptual tool of colonialism":

> Its guiding principles are division and hierarchical ranking and its goal is mastery of the unknown. It is not accidental that scientists given the task of classifying plants, animals and humans often accompanied colonial ventures in 'opening' new territory for European economic and political use. (Kilomba 2008, 94)

Kilomba's emphasis on the economic and political function of classification is important, because it allows problematising discursive bordering as a *political*, process, which hinges on a hierarchical power relation between bordering and bordered subjects.

With the words of Walter Mignolo and Madina Tlostanova, the imperial-colonial epistemology is "based on a racial classification of the population of the planet, a classificatory order in which those who made the classification put themselves at the top of Humanity" (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2006, 206). While racialised classification was a prime tool of colonial governance (this became already visible in the work of Guernier), I have shown above that practices of classifying, counting, or differentiating are also crucial for the contemporary governance of migration to and through EUrope. Their relation can be made visible by adopting a post-colonial perspective on history.

To capture such continuities, post-colonial scholars resort to anti-historicist conceptions of history, which very much echo Walter Benjamin's materialist understanding of history presented earlier. In the seminal book *Provincialising Europe*, Dipesh Chakrabarty grapples with the "first in Europe, then elsewhere" narrative, and "internalist histories (…) in which Europe was described as the site of the first occurrence of capitalism, modernity, or Enlightenment" (Chakrabarty 2008, 7). He questions the historicist narrative that hinges on the idea of a continuous and unified development of what is imagined as 'the other', 'the periphery', or the 'third world', emanating from and referring back to a 'civilising centre' – Europe.

According to Sandro Mezzadra, "[a]ccepting the challenge of 'provincializing Europe' (…) has important consequences":

> Once we destabilize European primacy in the history of modernity, a new gaze can be turned on to European history itself, discovering for instance how contested, limited and contradictory the deployment of the abstract standards of citizenship and 'free' wage labor also was there. (Mezzadra 2012)

With Mezzadra, discursive bordering becomes legible in terms of a "social production of difference that is inherent in capitalism". In this light, differential constructions of subjectivity along the lines of colonial logics, "for example through the problem of the color-line, continuities of slave labour, etc..." (ibid.) are seen as enabling capitalist accumulation in postcolonial capitalism. Crucially, and in line with the points made earlier about the essential heterogeneity of EUrope,

> the concept of postcolonial capitalism emphasizes the relevance of diverse scales, places and histories within the structure of global capitalism, which leads to the necessity of qualifying theories of cognitive capitalism and labor that too often appear as indifferent to this spatial and temporal heterogeneity. (Mezzadra 2012)

In a similar spirit, Lisa Lowe (2015) explores *Intimacies of Four Continents* to uncover the relation between European liberalism and colonialism. With Lowe, we can grasp practices of discursive bordering as an echo of colonial governance. Collecting and filing data in carefully separated cabinets (for example the different biometric databases run by the EU) pertain to "a material bureaucracy of rule, and the historical trace of imperial activities", which "actively document and produce the risks, problems, and uncertainties that were the conditions of imperial rule" (ibid., 4).

In this light, both the discursive construction of people's movements as 'good' or 'bad', 'desirable' or 'undesirable', and 'legal' or 'illegal', as well as the conceptual categories such as '(labour) migrants' and 'refugees' that ambivalently reproduce such borderings have to be regarded as resonances of colonial difference. Contemporary practices of discursive bordering in the EUropean border regime are not always determined by colonial history in a linear or literal way (although many of them are). Europe's contemporary discursive borders are crucially *overdetermined* by the resonances of a colonial gesture of classification. It materially turns the bodies of

(post-)colonial populations into exploitable objects by differentially governing their movements to and through the EUropean space.

In a move directly opposed to the epistemology of disconnection that underpins practices of discursive bordering and the colonial gesture of classification, Lowe encourages us to

> consider the political, sexual, and intellectual connections and relations among slaves, peoples of indigenous descent, and colonized laborers as an emergent 'intimacies of four continents' forged out of residual processes, whose presence is often eclipsed by the more dominant Anglo-American histories of liberal subjectivity, domesticity, and household. (ibid., 20)

Performing a similar change of perspective, Chakrabarty conceives of history in terms of "contradictory, plural, and heterogeneous struggles whose outcomes are never predictable, even retrospectively, in accordance with schemas that seek to naturalize and domesticate this heterogeneity" (Chakrabarty 2008, 42–43).

Beyond its analytical purchase, this opening in Lowe's and Chakrabarty's argument constitutes one of the political interventions of post-colonial scholarship. To come full circle, their emphasis on heterogeneity and (re-)connections resonates with one of Perec's observations: However stolid in its persistence, classification is ultimately doomed to failure. Importantly, this failure is not always due to explicit practices of contestation (that will form an important focus in chapter 5, in which discursive borders are focused as a stake in migrant struggles). Indeed, the failure of discursive bordering can be very much an *immanent* feature of border regimes that feeds into the governance of migration (this will become apparent in chapter 4).

In the case of the contemporary EUropean border regime, this necessary failure is even spotted by its liberal architects at DEMOS:

> One of the major difficulties for European governments under this framework is that of sorting different groups of migrants into the right categories. This is not just a conceptual problem, but one of data collection, as governments and international organisations struggle to maintain rigid boundaries between categories, with often incompatible databases. Definitions of migration are themselves the result of state policies, introduced in response to political and economic goals and public attitudes. (…) The increasing obsession with categories is the result of nations searching for increased control over mass migration. But the incompatibility of categories across organisations and countries, the difficulty of identifying migrants and trying to fit their aims and motivations into fixed groups and the cost of maintaining a bureaucratic administration responsible for the enforcement of categorisation and control represent serious and growing challenges to the sustainability and the effectiveness of existing policies. (Veenkamp, Bentley, and Buonfino 2003, 22–23)

Still, there is no denying the extreme violence that emanates from practices of discursive bordering. And yet, the archives that materially bear witness to its workings also show that they are functioning in a highly ambivalent way. Marked by an excess of meaning and always containing leverage for their own subversion, they can potentially feed into practices of bordering that deviate from or contest the hegemonic matrix of subjectivation that is laid out in policies. Working within and against top-down practices of bordering becomes possible by tracing silences, erasures, or obfuscated connections and analysing discursive bordering across different spatial and temporal contexts.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have looked at how practices of discursive bordering constitute the EUropean space of movement. To this end, I have used enunciative pragmatics as a macro-historical perspective to scrutinise the discursive construction of space, time, and subjectivities in milestone policy documents of the European Council. This allowed me to explore some historical particularities of the EUropean space of movements. In addition, the analytical grasp of enunciative pragmatics has been extended with a materialist concern for history.

The practices that constitute the EUropean space of movements are marked by a material-discursive excess in three different ways.

First, the EUropean space of movements is characterised by a surplus of meaning around the foundational preconstruct EUrope. While presented as a self-evident reality, its spatial reference and the cognate construction of a 'European' subjectivity is shifting and inherently unstable. Thus, the EU's version of 'Europe' merely represents a *specific* construction of reality that simplifies material complexity, even though it is articulated from a very powerful enunciative position. Through the widespread discursive torsion of its institutional, spatial, and cultural-ideological layers of meaning, the EU's version of EUrope is exclusionary and homogenising. It masks two essential moments of material overdetermination: the EUropean space is internally differentiated by an unequal distribution of wealth and freedom; and its external borders are a historically contingent outcome of bordering. Both aspects point to Europe's colonial legacy, which is not present on the textual surface of the Council conclusions, but infuses the present configuration of EUrope and its borders, as well as the way these are rendered intelligible in discourse.

Second, EUrope's contemporary border regime relies on a pervasive combination of two dimensions of discursive bordering, which discursively capture the excess of movements and control: a homogenising tendency that pushes the (unbearable) material reality of migrant death and the lethal quality of migration control towards (and across) the margins of the EUropean space of movements; and a differentiating tendency, which focuses on the differentiated governance of a surplus of mobility that is present within the EUropean space through a set of categories. The second dimension is best described as an epistemology of selective disconnection between different 'forms' of migration (for example 'labour migrants' vs. 'refugees').

Third, these (and other) practices of discursive bordering in EUrope's contemporary border regime are insidiously infused with historical resonances of what I have described as a colonial gesture of differentiation. Practices of bordering and the material-discursive differences they (re-)produce (for example il/legality, un/deservingness, in/security, etc.) do not unfold their meaning in a historical vacuum. Instead, they are materially overdetermined by (post-)colonial regimes of racial categorisation and classification. The colonial gesture of classification materially turns the bodies of moving people into exploitable objects, by recoding their movements in a differential set of categories. Together with the homogenising and differentiating tendencies of the EUropean border regime, this discursive practice of bordering

crucially depends on and reproduces an enunciative hierarchy between bordering subjects and bordered objects.

The findings of this chapter will serve as a macro-historical background for the analysis in the following two chapters, which successively 'zoom in' and look at how practices of discursive bordering become relevant in German discourses on EUropean migration (chapter 4), and in a migrant struggle (chapter 5). On this occasion, it will become apparent that the material-discursive excess of borders and migration ambivalently enables practices of control *and* contestation. By extension, the analytical perspective adopted in this chapter and the findings it helped to produce make a strong case for a non-presentist analysis of borders and migration, which takes seriously their embedding in broader macro-historical processes.

Chapter 4: Supraverting the Labour / Refugee Divide

Coventry, sometime in 2015 or 2016. It has become difficult to escape a debate on 'Brexit'. The vote on Britain's future role in the EU has been accompanied by a toxic discourse on migration to and through EUrope, and a spike in hate-crimes against those who are profiled as not belonging 'here' (see UK Home Office 2017, 4–7).[50] At about the same time, the 'refugee crisis' at the borders of Europe constitutes one of the single most important topics in media and politics.[51] Rarely scrutinised, however, are the discursive constructions and the deep entanglement of these developments.

'But you're German…' – a statement that has become uncannily familiar since living in the UK. At the barber's: *'...you're alright, I mean you're not really a migrant anyway. And you contribute, not like these people from the East, they're all about the benefits!'*. In a café: *'... I wish I lived in Germany, your people showed a really warm welcome to all these war refugees. I have to say I quite like Merkel'*. Chatting with a colleague: *'...you can be really proud, you Germans are true Europeans, unconditionally defending freedom of movement against all the scaremongering*'.

While I felt like disagreeing with the above interpellations, it is their entanglement that makes them interesting from a political point of view. Apparently referring to different events and socio-political realities, they share a common ideological base. It is the differentiation between 'good' and 'bad' migrants that turns them from scattered remarks into practices of bordering, which feed into each other and materially affect those who are moving through the EUropean space.

In this chapter, I propose to unravel the discursive borders that are drawn around EUropean migrations to Germany. I am particularly interested in exploring the ideological threads that connect them, and often transcend political cleavages such as 'left' and 'right', or 'pro-' and 'anti-migration' positions in a surprising way. I will do this by analysing German discourses on EUropean migration *beyond* the narrow

[50] See Outhwaite (2017) for a collection of sociological perspectives on Brexit.

[51] See New Keywords Collective (2016) on the construction of 'crisis' in migration discourse.

frames of 'Brexit' and the 'refugee crisis', with a special emphasis on the intersectional dynamics that infuse discursive practices of bordering.

I argue that it is vital to look at discursive processes that define who does (not) count as a 'migrant', and whose presence is (not) seen as legitimate in what Bridget Anderson terms a "community of value" (2013, 6). A similar point is made by critical scholars regarding 'Brexit'. They contend that the vote and its corollaries do not come out of the blue, but have to be contextualised within broader dynamics of racist, sexist, and classist exclusions. Echoing the post-colonial construction of difference and the colonial gesture of classification that have been discussed in the previous chapter, these intersectional practices of bordering are rooted in the normative construction of whiteness (Emejulu 2017), and a racialised understanding of 'Britishness' (Bhambra 2016, 2017).[52] Akwugo Emejulu's and Gurminder Bhambra's arguments also resonate with an observation made by Étienne Balibar in the late 1980s. In a context that is persistently labelled as constituting a 'crisis', his mediations on the relation between racism and crisis are timely in a striking (and painful) way:

> Rather than cause and effect, we should in reality be speaking of the reciprocal action of crisis and racism in a particular conjuncture: in other words, we should characterize and specify the social crisis as a racist crisis and also investigate the characteristics of the 'crisis racism' springing up at a given moment in a given social formation. (…) In reality, it does not follow from the fact that racism is becoming more visible, that it has arisen from nothing, or almost nothing. (Balibar [1988] 1991, 218)

Against this background, I maintain that scrutinising the fine-grained practices of in- and exclusion along the intersecting lines of legal status, race/ethnicity, class, and gender is not only essential to make sense of these recent political events and the success of right-wing-populist projects such as Germany's AfD and PEGIDA[53], which both have articulated their political positions around the issue of migration. It is equally essential to expose the functioning of the often evaded processes that furnish the

[52] An intersectional perspective also informs a reflexive stance and helps, for example, to make sense of the largely unproblematised presence of myself and other migrants as 'not really-' or 'good' migrants (read: being white, male, and/or class-privileged).

[53] Both the PEGIDA movement ('Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the Occident') and the AfD party ('Alternative for Germany') articulated their political agenda around a nativist, anti-migration discourse, which picks up and amplifies stigmatising representations of migrants (see De Genova 2015; Dostal 2015; Friedrich 2015). With a score of 12.7 % in the general election of September 2017, AfD now represents the third largest party in the German Bundestag.

ideological underpinnings for the differential in- and exclusion of those who are moving through the EUropean space.

In the following, I focus on discursive practices of bordering at the junction of policy and public discourse. To this end, I look at how the widespread conceptual distinction between '(labour) migrants' and 'refugees' is politicised by institutional actors. While I consider the political implications of discursive bordering on the local, national, and supra-national level, the starting point for my analysis in this chapter consists in a fine-grained enunciative analysis of practices of discursive bordering in a specific section of German discourse on EUropean migration. Using the enunciative approach in its conventional, micro-analytical form, I scrutinise the labour / refugee divide in two interviews with the German minister of the interior. In these interviews, both movements from the EU member states Bulgaria and Romania (initially framed as 'economic' or 'labour migration') and from the non-member states Serbia and Macedonia (framed with the conceptual language of 'asylum') are stigmatised and rejected with the construction of a deviant migrant subjectivity.

Here, the labour / refugee divide, which is assumed as stable in large sections of migration discourse, is simultaneously reproduced *and* thwarted 'from above'. I suggest calling this discursive practice of un/bordering a *supraversion*. Made possible by the surplus of meaning that is inherent in discourse, discursive supraversion transcends hegemonic differentiations in a flexible way, while maintaining their normative validity and disjunctive stability. In the light of my analysis, I argue that supraversion constitutes a practice of discursive bordering that has material effects for people on the move by feeding into the differentiated governance of migrations.

Outline

In the first part of this chapter, I conduct a micro-enunciative analysis of the discursive construction and supraversion of the labour / refugee divide in two interviews with the German minister of the interior from 2012 and 2013.

In the second part, the wider political implications of this specific example of discursive bordering are explored in an intersectional framework. This allows making sense of the present-absent status of intersectional difference in policy discourse. Furthermore, it enables grasping supraversion as a differential mode of migration governance that relies on the construction of racist, sexist, and classist difference.

1. The Discursive Construction and Supraversion of the Labour / Refugee Divide

To address the dynamic quality of the labour / refugee divide, I propose to analyse its underpinning logic and political implications instead of debating 'correct' definitions and attributions. In this part of the chapter, I use enunciative pragmatics to conduct a qualitative micro-analysis of discursive bordering in a specific section of German discourse on EUropean migrations to the country.

The corpus

To explore the discursive construction and political implications of the labour / refugee divide, I have performed an in-depth analysis of two interviews with the politician Hans Peter Friedrich, which were conducted and published by leading German media outlets in 2012 and 2013 respectively.

The selection of the concrete corpus of analysis for this chapter was preceded by an exploratory stage of reading through a large set of 342 media texts that have been published by leading German media outlets between 2012 and 2014, and contain the conceptual signifiers 'refugees' and 'labour migrants'. The two interviews have been chosen from this larger corpus as representative examples of a discursive bordering between different 'types' of migration, which is performed from a position of enunciative privilege and institutional power that enjoys wide recognition in the public sphere. In accordance with large portions of German media discourse on migration at that time (and up until today), the two interviews reproduce the widespread differentiation between 'labour' and 'refugee' migration by treating them as distinct, but equally problematic phenomena, which are dealt with in two separate interviews and areas of policymaking. The examples reproduced in this chapter have been selected according to their illustrative character (representative formal configuration, density of enunciative markers, and deployment of conceptual signifiers).

Guided by the research questions and my methodological framework, this strategy of selection allows to explore and problematise the contradictory nature of discursive practices of bordering across different discursive instances and fields of policymaking, while ensuring comparability through a similar formal configuration and conditions of production.

From a formal point of view, the interviews are comparable because they have been disseminated in leading media outlets with a high (but demographically and politically diverse) reach.[54] Additionally, the enunciative responsibility for the utterances of the interviewee is evenly assumed by a political representative (Hans-Peter Friedrich) who holds a privileged institutional subject position (the German minister of the interior). The ministry of the interior (and particularly Friedrich) has always had a high presence in the political discourse on migrations to the country.

At that time, Friedrich (a member of Bavaria's Christian-Social Union, CSU) was German secretary of the interior in the government led by chancellor Angela Merkel (Christian-Democratic Union, CDU). Analysing material that was produced *before* discourses on labour and refugee migration were made relevant on a larger scale in the context of 'Brexit' and the 'refugee crisis' is particularly worthwhile from a critical point of view. It allows investigating the political lineages of these spectacularised events, as well as their discursive materialisation in one of the EU's economic and political power centres. On a different level, it also helps in questioning Germany's public image as a 'welcoming nation', which has become increasingly widespread over the last few years.

Full transcripts of both interviews are included at the end of this thesis (see appendix, 233ff.). In the following, they are referred to with a shorthand, followed by line numbers. The first interview (hereafter #1) was published in October 2012 in the *BILD Zeitung*, Germany's bestselling tabloid newspaper. Entitled "What are you doing against asylum-abuse?" (*Bild.de* 2012; my translation), it focuses on migration from Serbia and Macedonia that is represented as a 'refugee' and 'asylum' issue. The second interview (#2) was initially broadcasted in the main evening news programme *Heute*

[54] At the time of the publication of #1 by BILD in 2012, the paper had an average nationwide circulation of 3.3 million copies (statistics accessed on www.ivw.eu on 11/11/2016). It reaches 12.7 million readers, whose level of education and household income is below the national average: "[T]he typical BILD reader is a man in the age of 40 to 59 years. He went to middle school, is employed as skilled worker and disposes of an average household net income of 1500 to 2500 Euro" (meedia.de 2013; my translation). Bild can be regarded as a characteristic example of tabloid journalism. The critical discourse analysts Margarete Jäger and Siegfried Jäger show in their work that the newspaper overlaps with right-wing-populist and racist discourses in its coverage of migration (see Jäger and Jäger 2007, 74–94). At the time of broadcasting of #2 in ZDF's *Heute Journal,* the programme had an average audience of 3.90 million and a total market share of 13.5 percent (quotenmeter 2014). The audience of the publicly funded station is slightly older, but politically more diverse (statista 2012). As a public channel, ZDF cultivates an image of political neutrality (see Mehne 2013, 54–65).

Journal by ZDF, Germany's second public-service channel in February 2013. Entitled "Friedrich: 'We are not paying twice!'" (YouTube 2013; my translation), its subject matter is migration from Romania and Bulgaria and 'free movement' of labour in the EU. It was uploaded to ZDF's channel on the online video platform YouTube on the day of broadcasting. [55]

For the micro-enunciative analysis, the interviews were retrieved from the website of BILD (#1), and from the online video platform YouTube (#2) in March 2013.[56] While resorting to YouTube became necessary because ZDF was not systematically uploading broadcasted material on its own website at that time, it adds an intriguing dimension to my analysis. Independent of the original conditions of production of the interview, YouTube – "the default online moving-image archive" (Prelinger 2009, 269) – opens up an additional enunciative space and allows looking at how people make sense of the interview in their user comments.

Enunciative analysis as a micro perspective

In contrast to the analysis conducted in the previous chapter, enunciative pragmatics is here used in its more conventional form of a micro-analytical perspective (see chapter 2, 65ff.). Scrutinising practices of discursive bordering by paying close attention to the linguistic features of a small set of utterances, this fine-grained approach allows for a careful consideration of discursive practices and their inherent excess of meaning. This chapter's focus on intersecting constructions of difference in institutional and public discourse complements the macro-historical focus of the previous, and the situated perspective of the next chapter. Looking at the bordering of the EUropean space of movements through the discursive construction of time, space, and subjectivity, as well as the effects of preconstructs and polyphony, the basic coordinates of analysis remain in place, and assure comparability across the different analytical contexts of my thesis.

[55] For the translations of textual material in this chapter, I have tried to strike a balance between preserving the formal characteristics and linguistic register used in the German original, and a reasonably readable and correct English wording. The enunciative analysis has been conducted in German, before the utterances were translated.

[56] The video is no longer available on YouTube in its original form.

Results of the analysis

In accordance with the enunciative approach to discourse, I am neither interested in uncovering a somehow hidden 'original meaning' of the interviews, nor the 'true intentions' of discourse participants and producers. Rather, I will show how the utterances in the interviews effectively give way to a simultaneous construction *and* supraversion of the labour / refugee divide. This seemingly paradoxical ambivalence is then examined in relation to the political context of the interviews in a further step.

While a fully-fledged visual analysis of the interview scenes lies beyond the scope of this chapter, a brief examination is helpful to highlight their characteristic mode of enunciation. In both cases, the interviewee is identified with the institutional subject position of the German minister of the interior and the political person 'Hans-Peter Friedrich' through a frontal close-up shot (see figure 6). Insignia of the state (a small button with the German national flag on Friedrich's chest, and the big waving flag in front of Berlin's Brandenburg gate) confer the scene a 'statesmanlike' and official character, and an aura of authority.

Figure 6 Screenshots of the interview scenes as retrieved from the webpages of BILD (#1, left) and YouTube (#2, right). The still on the right captures the dominant mise-en-scène of the video.

This is intensified by the raised index finger, which gives the utterances in the BILD interview a 'lecturing' or 'cautioning' character. The background of the scenes (a desk in a representative office, and the iconic sight in the heart of Berlin's government district at night) position Friedrich, who is in the centre of the interview scenes, in a context of working, decision making, and state power. Overall, the material analysed

in this chapter can be regarded as a characteristic example of top-down discourse, in which a representative of parliamentary democracy speaks to the general public.

Taking cues from the visual methodologies developed by Gillian Rose (2001, 38–48), Theo van Leeuwen (2008, 138) and Guy Lochard (1990, 94–95), I argue that the recipients of the interviews are interpellated from a formal position of power and authority, which is only occasionally de-centred through the textual and visual presence of the respective interviewers. By seemingly establishing 'eye-contact' with the recipients, a sense of proximity is created between Friedrich and his (virtual) interlocutors. Even though the interviewer is intermittently present through a split screen setup in #2, his body axis is slightly rotated towards the interviewee, thus leaving the enunciative hierarchy in place. This visual setup fits the enunciative configuration on the textual level.

From a formal point of view, it can be claimed that the mode of enunciation is strictly representative in both interviews. While a locutor (the interviewer) and an allocutor (the interviewee) are explicitly present in the interview scene, they are talking *about* a non-present migrant 'other', which they refer to with 'they' or by using concept-signifiers that point to to different 'forms' of migration. This other is merely represented, and has no means to intervene in the chain of discourse.[57] This strictly representative configuration already becomes apparent in the opening statements of both interviews, which are reproduced in example 1

Example 1 **Opening statements of the interviews**

#1 (BILD)

Die Zahl der Flüchtlinge in Deutschland steigt rasant. BILD spricht mit Bundesinnenminister Hans-Peter Friedrich (55, CSU) über Asylmissbrauch, die Visumspflicht und Bargeld für Flüchtlinge. [#1, 7-9]

The number of refugees in Germany soars rapidly. BILD talks with the minister of the interior Hans-Peter Friedrich (55, CSU) about asylum abuse, visa requirements, and cash for refugees. [my translation]

[57] On the visual level, the migrant other remains entirely unrepresented.

#2 (ZDF)

[Moderator:] Es herrscht enormer Zeitdruck. Am 1. Januar 2014, also in 9 Monaten wird die volle EU-Freizügigkeit auch für Bulgarien und Rumänien gelten. Das betrifft auch ihr Ministerium: Guten Abend, Herr Minister Friedrich. [#2, 4-6]

[Host:] There is an enormous time pressure. On the 1st of January 2014, in 9 months, the comprehensive EU freedom of movement will also apply to Bulgaria and Romania. This also concerns your department: Good evening, Mr. Secretary Friedrich. [my translation]

In #1, the migrant other is defined as "refugees" that are later specified as coming from "Macedonia" and "Serbia". In #2, this construction is performed along the lines of 'EU freedom of movement' from "Bulgaria and Romania". Throughout the interviews, this depersonalising representation of mobile populations is reinforced by the use of compound nouns such as "-number", "-procedure", "-abuse", or "-application" and the homogenising reference to the two countries of origin respectively, both by the interviewer and the interviewee. This configuration effectively turns human beings ('they' / 'them') into anonymous administrative objects. Such a configuration is characteristic for representative discourses on migration and has already been explored in terms of a discursive feature of the EUropean border regime in the previous chapter (see chapter 3, 113ff.). The use of preconstructs (such as 'asylum abuse' and 'freedom of movement'), and the spatio-temporal construction of a pressing issue ('time constraints', 'soars rapidly') are typical as well – I will return to these points below.

Apart from a small number of deictic markers that set up the dialogical scene ('I – you') and position Friedrich as a person with power and responsibility, both interviews contain an important number of references to a third person ('we', 'us'). These markers are particularly interesting from an enunciative point of view, because they open a broad and heterogeneous field of reference that needs to be filled with co- and contextual interpretations in order to become meaningful (see chapter 2, 81ff.).

While this collective position is not explicitly defined in any of the interviews, the co-textual space offers certain cues that guide our interpretation through the enunciative setup and the presence of spatial signifiers. This can be observed across the examples discussed in this section. In both interviews, the spatial-temporal 'here and now' is constituted by a reference to the national entity "Germany", which is supplemented

with a reference to the local level of states and communes. The reference to the supranational level ("Europe", "EU") ambiguously shifts between a relation of difference ('we versus Europe', in #1 and #2) and belonging ('we as a part of Europe', in #2).

Against the background of a largely representative mode of enunciation, it can be argued that the collective 'we' is amalgamated to the sociocultural position of the dominant enunciative position (the German government, represented by its minister of the interior), and predefined in terms of the national ingroup 'the Germans'. In both interviews, the 'German' subject position is associated with a similar range of activities on different political and administrative levels, which all convey a sense of political leadership and efficiency (see table 1).

Table 1 Activities attributed to the 'German we' in #1 and #2

#1 (BILD)	**#2 (ZDF)**
providing accommodation for refugees	helping communes
conducting status determination procedures	conducting talks
implementing policies	implementing policies / action programmes
deporting	demanding departure
sending signals	fighting
paying cash benefits and benefits in kind	paying social benefits, foreign aid
finding solutions	finding solutions

Through the enunciative setup of the interviews, the national ingroup and its representative Friedrich are pitted against the visually and physically absent migrant other. In this way, a formal polarisation between 'we' and 'the others' shifts into a political relation between 'we nationals' versus 'the migrants', which is a crucial feature for the discursive constitution of nation and state (see Achard 1993, 1998). In the following, I will show how this 'other' is discursively constituted in core paragraphs of the two interviews.

Initially, a differentiation between distinct 'types' of migration and areas of policymaking conceptually disjoins interview #1 from #2. While movements from Serbia and Macedonia are framed as an asylum issue, those from Romania and Bulgaria are defined as an economic and work issue by referring to the European

freedom of movement of labour. However, this discursive bordering along the lines of a labour / refugee divide is thwarted by the discursive construction of a deviant migrant subjectivity that ambivalently *transcends* the initial differentiation.

In interview #1 (see example 2), a discursive bordering is performed between admissible asylum seekers "seeking protection from persecution" and people coming "for economic reasons" (4) by referring to the preconstructs of "asylum law" and "abuse" (5). Asylum seekers from Serbia and Macedonia are tendentially denied a legitimate presence ("rather for economic reasons"). This exclusion is justified by referring to their rising number in (3). While this seems illogical at first, such circular reasoning effectively performs the function of a discursive practice of bordering that will be scrutinised in the second part of this chapter.

Example 2 **Asylum and the discursive construction of abuse in #1 (BILD)**

BILD: Kommt da eine neue Flüchtlingswelle auf uns zu? (1)

Hans-Peter Friedrich: „Es ist nicht so schlimm wie in den 80er und 90er Jahren. (2) Momentan steigt vor allem die Asylbewerberzahl aus Mazedonien und Serbien. (3) Da liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass sie eher aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen kommen und nicht, weil sie Schutz vor Verfolgung suchen (4). Das ist nicht Sinn und Zweck des Asylrechts, und diesem Missbrauch müssen wir begegnen (5)." [#1, 11-17]

BILD: Is there a new wave of refugees reaching us? (1)

Hans-Peter Friedrich: It is not as bad as in the 80s and 90s (2). At the moment, it is especially the number of asylum seekers from Macedonia and Serbia that is rising. (3) This leads to the assumption that they are rather coming for economic reasons and not because they are seeking protection from persecution. (4) This is not the sense and purpose of asylum law, and we need to confront this abuse. (5)" [my translation]

In the light of the introductory section of the interview (see example 1), the first utterances of the paragraph convey the image of a spatio-temporal state of exception ('wave', 'rising numbers', 'rapidly'). While the situation is distanced from events in the 80s and 90s – presumably alluding to the arrival of refugees in the context of the Balkan wars, which still provides an important point of reference in German discourses

on migration (see Jäger and Jäger 2007, 74–93) – this reference constitutes a negative scenario against the background of which the present circumstances are discussed.

However, the presence of the polyphonic marker 'not' in (2), (4), and (5) indicates the existence of discursive positions that disagree with Friedrich's stance on who is a refugee and on the scope of asylum.[58]

The different points of view that result from the polyphonic play in example 2 are shown below:

Discursive polyphony in example 2

(2) The situation…

pov_0 … is not as bad as in the 80s and 90s.

pov_{0a} … is not **as** bad as in the 80s and 90s. (emphasis added)

pov_1 … is as bad as in the 80s and 90s.

(4) Asylum seekers from Macedonia and Serbia…

pov_2 … are rather here for economic reasons.

pov_3 … are seeking protection from persecution.

(5) Serving those coming for economic reasons…

pov_4 … is not the sense and purpose of asylum law.

pov_5 … is the sense and purpose of asylum law.

Through discursive polyphony, alternative points of view are present in the chain of discourse. Traceable by looking at polyphonic markers, they constitute an intractable element in Friedrich's top-down discourse, even if they are not explicitly spelled out. While Friedrich assumes pov_0, pov_2, and pov_4, other positions that are present in pov_4

[58] While analysing the political positioning of the content producers and interviewers as well as the nuances of the dialogical play that unfolds in the interviews lies beyond the scope of this chapter, it is interesting to observe that the position of disagreement remains strictly virtual in BILD, and is not referred to or taken up by the interviewers.

and pov_6 legitimise the presence of Serbian and Macedonian citizens as refugees, or of migrants who come 'for economic reasons' more generally. In this way, a discursive disagreement is staged on two levels: regarding the individual determination of status, and the scope of asylum law. Here, it is interesting to look at Friedrich's negation of the historical analogy. Against the background of the polyphonic play analysed so far, Friedrich positions himself in a middle-ground between the catastrophic reference to the 80s and 90s (pov_1), and a more open attitude towards migration ($pov_{3,5}$). However, depending on the emphasis, his negation can either be read as a blanket (pov_0) or partial rejection ('it is bad, but not *as* bad', pov_{0a}) of the historical comparison, while the past is univocally framed as bad. This creates a certain ambiguity as to how close Friedrich's position is to the 'alarmist' perspective on contemporary migrations.

An additional ambiguity is inherent in Friedrich's own use of conceptual terms. Unlike the interviewer, he mostly avoids using the political signifier 'refugee' and resorts to 'asylum seekers' instead, a term that legally does not preempt the legitimate presence of a person. However, he introduces the signifier 'economic refugees' in the last part of the interview (see example 3).

Example 3 **The discursive construction of 'economic refugees'**

Friedrich: Nein. Wir dürfen nicht pauschal jeden Wirtschaftsflüchtling als Kriminellen sehen. [#1, 59-60]

Friedrich: No. We must not see every economic refugee as a criminal across the board. [my translation]

Without any substantial legal meaning, the signifier 'economic refugees' strangely oscillates between a pseudo-legal and a populist connotation.[59] In this way, it rhetorically bridges the ambiguity between the catastrophic and the 'pragmatic' (middle-ground) position that has been present in example 2. In the interview, its stigmatising connotations are reinforced by partially associating the subject position of 'economic refugees' with criminality. At the same time, the exact meaning of

[59] As Martin Wengeler and Georg Stötzel show in their history of public parlance in Germany, the signifier has been used by members of conservative and right-wing parties to delegitimise the presence of refugees as early as in the 1960s and 70s (see Wengeler and Stötzel 1995, 733–41).

'economic' and its relation to the legal definition of a refugee in German asylum law largely remain unclear. These aspects will become important in my discussion of the political implications of supraversion in the second part of this chapter.

The discourse of 'asylum abuse' in #1 is mirrored by a construction of 'benefits abuse' in interview #2, which I am going to explore now. In example 4, migration from the EU member states Romania and Bulgaria is framed as an issue pertaining to EU freedom of movement. The immediate political context of the interview consists in an imminent change in the legal situation of migrants from the two countries. While joining the Union in 2007, Romanian and Bulgarian citizens were formally granted 'full' freedom of movement only from 1st of January 2014. This context is introduced by the host of the news programme in (1) and (2).

Example 4 **Freedom of movement and the construction of abuse in #2 (ZDF)**

[Moderator:] (…) Denn EU-Bürger dürfen selbstverständlich nach Europa kommen. (1) Und Bulgaren und Rumänen sind alle miteinander EU-Bürger mit vollen Rechten, in wenigen Monaten. (2)

[Friedrich:] Also es kommen sehr viele Bürger auch aus Bulgarien und Rumänien zu uns, um hier zu arbeiten und zu studieren aber es gibt eine bestimmte Zahl, die nur hier her kommt um Sozialleistungen zu bekommen. (3) Das können wir nicht akzeptieren. (4) Wenn ein solcher Betrug nachgewiesen werden kann, und das ist Aufgabe auch der Behörden vor Ort, dann kann man auch die Ausreise dieser Person verlangen. (5) [#2, 39-47]

[Host:] (…) Indeed, EU citizens are self-evidently allowed to come to Europe. (1) And Bulgarians and Romanians are altogether EU citizens with full rights, in a few months. (2)

[Friedrich:] Many citizens also come to us from Bulgaria and Romania to work and study here, but there is also a certain number that only come here to receive social benefits. (3) We cannot accept that. (4) If such a fraud can be corroborated, and this is also a task of the agencies on the ground, one can also demand the departure of this person. (5) [my translation]

The first utterance is particularly interesting here. Superfluously stating that "EU citizens are self-evidently allowed to come to Europe" (1) can be seen as opening a peripheral subject position of 'not quite Europeans' that are coming to 'real Europe'. This echoes the postcolonial construction of difference and a 'moral geography' *within* the EUropean space of movements that has been explored previously (see chapter 3, 103ff.). In the light of the representative mode of enunciation, the news host who only seems to state 'obvious facts' effectively contributes to the discursive othering that is performed in Friedrich's utterances.[60]

The parallels between the differentiated construction of subjectivities in #1 and #2 are striking. Again, a 'normal' and 'admissible' form of migration is split off from an unwanted excess – those who "come to us from Bulgaria and Romania to work and study here" versus "a certain number that only come here to receive social benefits" (3). In this case, the unwanted subject position is linked to the preconstruct of "fraud", which is specified as "lying, cheating, and falsification of documents" towards the end of the interview (#2, 99-101). As in the first interview, these accusations are not further substantiated. And again, the discursive bordering between 'good' and 'bad' migrants is accompanied by discursive polyphony:

Discursive polyphony in example 4

…there is a certain number that only come here to receive social benefits. (3)

pov_1	This is not the case. (3)
pov_2	We cannot accept that. (4)
pov_3	We can accept that. (4)

While pov_2 is explicitly assumed by Friedrich, alternative points of view are present in the guise of pov_1, which denies the role of benefits as a pull factor, and of pov_3 claiming that it is not a problem if people come to receive benefits. In relation to my analysis of #1, it is notable that pov_3 interfaces with the pro-migrant position that advocates broadening the scope of asylum by including 'economic refugees'.

[60] In contrast to the BILD interviewers, ZDF's host generally adopts a more critical attitude by disagreeing with Friedrich and challenging him on some points.

In both interviews, Friedrich's solution to the 'problem' consists in the removal and prevention of entry of migrants, which are framed in the language of asylum and non-European migration ("rejection", "deportation", "visa requirements") and EU-migration ("departure", "re-entry ban") respectively. Apart from the discursive construction of a deviant migrant position that *transcends* the conceptual distinction between different 'forms' of migration, #1 and #2 share another feature. Even if framed in less catastrophic terms, the interview on migration from Romania and Bulgaria is also characterised by the discursive construction of a state of emergency (see, for instance, utterance (2) and the introductory utterance in example 1).

In contrast to the first, the micro-analysis of the second interview can be complemented with a brief look at the online user comments that figure below the YouTube video. I argue that these comments open up an additional enunciative space and allow taking a glimpse at how recipients of the video made sense of the utterances in the interview. Generally speaking, the user comments are characterised by an excessive reference to the national collective of Germans ('we', 'us'), thus replicating (and almost 'escalating') the enunciative setup of the interview. The same is true for the discursive construction of a state of exception, which is explicitly echoed in several comments (see, for instance, example 5).

Example 5 **Echoing the state of exception**

Vielleicht ist in zehn Monaten der ganze Spuk schon vorbei und es herrscht europaweit der Ausnahmezustand. [#2: comment 16]

Maybe, the whole charade is already over in ten months and the state of exception reigns Europewide. [my translation]

In relation to Friedrich's allegation of criminality, which is only briefly mentioned and not further explained in the interviews, the comments unfold a whole array of stigmatising subject positions such as "begging mafia", "con artists", "burglars" or "gypsy clans", which are deployed alongside other racist, classist, and sexist slurs. In this context, the comment reproduced in example 6 is particularly interesting:

Example 6 **Racialising migration**

Es sind nicht Bulgaren und Rumänen, die nach Deutschland kommen, sondern Sinti und Roma. Aber das darf man ja nicht sagen. [#2: comment 27]

It is not Bulgarians and Romanians that are coming to Germany, but Sinti and Roma. But one is not allowed to say that. [my translation]

Claiming to state an unspeakable truth by uttering what 'one is not allowed to say', the migrant other is linked to the subject position 'Sinti and Roma'. The predication of an interdiction to speak is not only a classic form of denial in racist discourse (see Kilomba 2008, 22). It also masks the enunciative privilege of the subject that articulates a stigmatising utterance by falsely claiming a marginal position. The functioning of this mechanism in migration discourse would merit a discourse analysis in its own right.

These examples strikingly show how the formal configuration of the interview (its mode of enunciation and the field of subject positions that is constructed) provides discursive points of connection that enable a racialisation of migration. By filling the enunciative configuration and content of the interviews with *explicitly* racist discourses and interpellations, the comments spell out stigmatising constructions that are insidiously present in the interview. Here, the enunciative space of YouTube user comments forms a discursive echo chamber that reproduces and intensifies the discursive borders drawn in the interviews. While analysing the comments is an exasperating task, it makes the discursive functioning of racism plainly visible. They show that culturalist and racist stereotyping is effective even if it is not explicitly made relevant and spelled out in the interviews.

A critical analysis of the racialisation of migration and the absent-present nature of racism and other intersectional categories in the political discourse on EUropean migration to Germany will form a crucial element in the second part of this chapter. But first, I am going to summarise the results of the micro-enunciative analysis conducted so far. Against the background of my findings, I develop the concept of discursive supraversion to make sense of the discursive practices of bordering that have been explored.

Summary of results: discursive bordering and supraversion

With the notion of *discursive supraversion*, I intend to grasp the concurrent deployment and transgression of the labour / refugee divide. In the two interviews with the German minister of the interior, a discursive border between 'labour migrants' from the EU member states Romania and Bulgaria, and 'asylum seekers' from the non-member states Serbia and Macedonia is initially drawn, but subsequently thwarted from above. The field of subject positions that structures the interviews is visualised on the following page (see figure 7).

In both cases, a transversal bordering is performed by constructing the comprehensive position of a deviant, abusive migrant subjectivity. In this way, the presence of a major proportion of asylum seekers from Serbia and Macedonia, and of migrants from Romania and Bulgaria is delegitimised with a reference to 'economic' reasons on the one, and a 'secure country of origin' on the other side. This deviant group is excluded from the status of being productive *or* in need of protection. Additionally, they are marked as a danger and problem, and associated with criminality.

In the interviews analysed, discursive supraversion is embedded in a strictly representative mode of enunciation, in which the enunciative privilege is restricted to discourse participants that are part of the national ingroup. This dominant subject position is associated with the 'positive' activities of paying, governing, and managing. By contrast, the migrant other is constructed as strictly separate from the national collective of Germans, and framed as a largely problematic presence. Beyond its stigmatising effects, this bordering also precludes that migrant subjects are already part of the imagined community of 'Germany'.

Such a nativist problem-discourse (that is present in the interview and eventually lapses into open racism in the YouTube user comments) performs the function of a discursive connector. It allows transcending the differentiation between 'labour migrants' and 'refugees' in a flexible way. On a different level, its connective character pertains to the fuzzy boundaries between discursive differentiation, stigmatisation, and open racism. While not uniform in terms of their content, these constructions of difference are marked by a formal-enunciative similarity, which allows practices of discursive bordering to cut across different discursive contexts, communities, and linguistic registers.

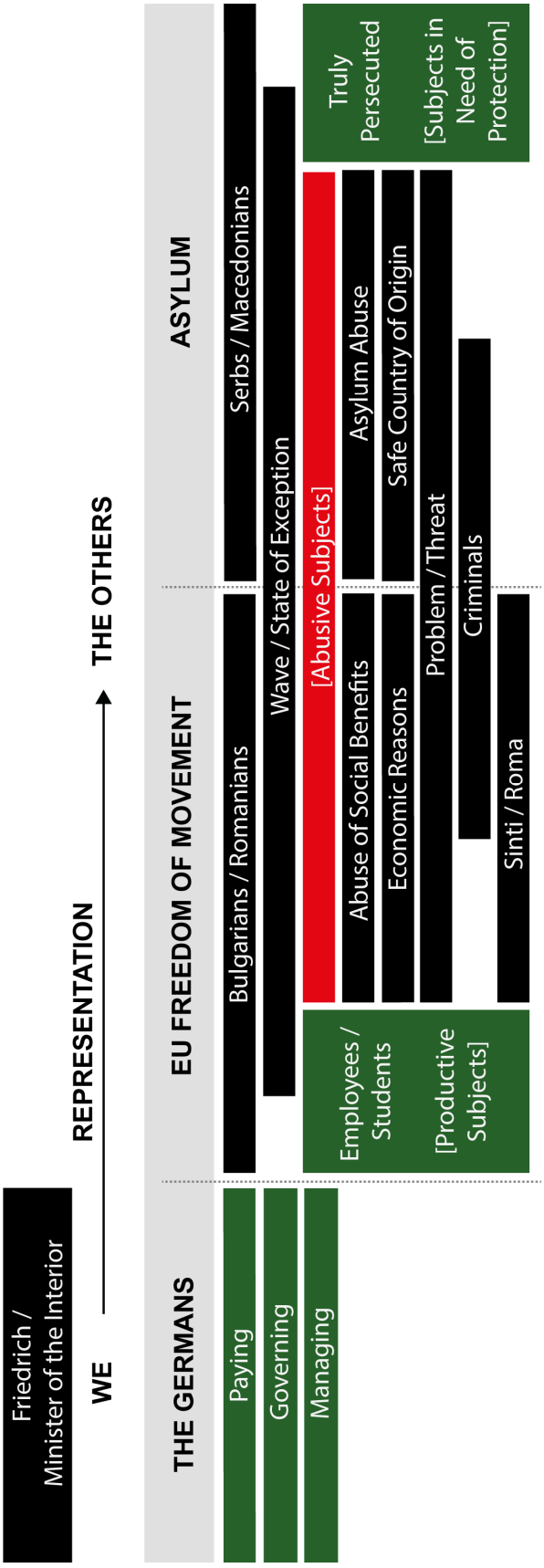

Figure 7 Discursive construction and supraversion of the labour / refugee divide

The theoretical concept of *supraversion* that I propose on the basis of my analysis extends the emphatic conceptualisation of discursive *subversion*, which has been developed by Judith Butler (1990, 1993, 1997) in the tradition of Althusserian and Foucaultian discourse theories (see chapter 1, 45). In contrast to a situation in which the inherent discursive excess of stigmatising and oppressive interpellations provides the ground for subversion and resistance, I suggest that the concurrence of discursive bordering and de-bordering described in this chapter is better described as supraversion.

Equally made possible by a surplus of meaning that is inherent in discourse, discursive supraversion *transcends* hegemonic differentiations (such as the labour / refugee divide) in a flexible way. However, their normative validity and disjunctive stability, as well as the enunciative privilege inherent in representative modes of enunciation, remain untouched.

Here, the excess of meaning is effectively (though not necessarily intentionally) embraced by political actors, and fed back into representative discourse. Marked by a concurrence of homogenisation and differentiation that is a characteristic feature of EUrope's contemporary border regime (see chapter 2, 113ff.), supraversion performs a differential inclusion of mobile subjectivities. At the same time, it reproduces a differentialist conception of migrant categories and maintains the enunciative privilege of the bordering subject (or discursive border guards).

In the material analysed, the labour / refugee divide is stabilised with the subject positions of 'truly persecuted refugees' and 'productive labour migrants', which are constructed as legitimate manifestations of two mutually exclusive types of migration. At the same time, it is thwarted by a comprehensive position of deviance that transcends the conception of disjunctive types of movements. In the next part of this chapter, I will explore the political implications of supraversion, by contextualising the practices of discursive bordering that are present in the two interviews from an intersectional point of view.

2. Intersectionality and the Political Implications of Supraversion

The micro-enunciative analysis of two interviews with the German minister of the interior exposes a discursive bordering between 'good' and 'bad' migrant subjects, which supraverts the conventional split between 'labour migrants' and 'asylum seekers / refugees'. In the material scrutinised, precarious migration in general is constructed against the background of a problem-discourse, which is articulated around implicit and explicit stereotypes and racist stigmatisations. These are not made fully explicit in the interviews (and the intersectional dimensions of class and gender seem to be fully absent at first glance). However, against the background of my theoretical framework and the previous chapter, it can be stipulated that the discursive bordering between 'good' and 'bad' migrant subjects is based on an intersectional construction of difference, which combines multiple dimensions of in- and exclusion.

In this part of the chapter, I propose to adopt an intersectional perspective to explore some political implications of discursive bordering and supraversion on the local, national, and supranational level.[61] Classically looking at the intersections between different forms of privilege and oppression along the lines of race/ethnicity, class, and gender (see Crenshaw 1991; McCall 2005), I suggest expanding the analytical scope of intersectionality by adding a concern for the discrimination between different 'types' of migration. This allows exploring how racist, classist, and sexist constructions of difference are linked to the disavowal and exclusion of people as 'refugees' or '(labour) migrants'. This exclusion is material and discursive: Those who are profiled as deviant migrant subjects are not only kept aloof from the enunciative space of migration discourse, but are also restricted in their free movement to and through the EUropean space. In her work on intersectional politics, Leah Bassel observes that

> the unfulfilled potential of intersectional politics lies in the lack of sufficient interrogation of the way debates are framed, political space is partitioned, and the exclusions that result from this framing. (Bassel 2010, 157)

[61] An exhaustive comparative analysis, as well as a more detailed consideration of legal discourse and proceedings between local and national courts and the Court of Justice of the EU are beyond the scope of this chapter (but see Alberti 2017; as well as Buckel 2013 for a discourse-analytical perspective).

I propose relating discursive practices of bordering as well as the enunciative privileges they entail to broader processes and transformations of the border regimes they are part of. Much more than a linguistic quibble, practices of discursive bordering have material consequences for people on the move. An intersectional analysis scrutinises the political implications of discursive borders alongside other dimensions of difference.

In the following, I will explore the relation between the practices of discursive bordering in the interviews and broader developments on several levels of policymaking. While I do not argue that there is a *linear* or *expressive* causal relationship between them, I contend that practices of discursive bordering on the micro level interface with their wider political context. In Althusserian terms, such a relationality can be called a '*structural* causality', in which

> the complex totality of the structure in dominance is a structure of effects with present-absent causes. The cause of the effects is the complex organization of the whole, present-absent in its economic, political, ideological and knowledge effects. (Brewster 2009)

Against this background, the discursive problematisation of migration as it unfolds in the interviews can be seen as constituting a present-absent element in policymaking, and vice versa. This entanglement can be explored by systematically relating the results of a formal-enunciative analysis of discursive bordering on the micro-level to similar practices of in- and exclusion on the level of policymaking. As will become apparent in the next section, such a procedure also exposes the intersections of two fields that are treated as distinct in wide sections of policy and academic discourse: the governance of asylum on the one side, and of freedom of movement of workers within the EU on the other.[62]

[62] In fact, such a distinction is already inaccurate from a historical point of view. From the outset, policies aimed at controlling the 'external' borders of the EU have been seen as an important precondition to assure a smooth circulation of services, goods, and persons in the 'internal' space of 'free movement' (see chapter 3, 104).

Policy developments from 2013-2014: the intersectional construction of deviance

In 2013, the newly elected government of Germany's social-democratic and conservative parties agreed to define three new 'safe countries of origin' in their coalition agreement entitled '*Shaping Germany's Future*'[63] (my translation):

> We want to classify the Western Balkan states Bosnia and Hercegovina, FYR Macedonia, and Serbia as safe countries of origin in terms of §29a of the Asylum Procedure Law, in order to be able to process futile asylum applications of nationals of these states more swiftly, and to be able to terminate their stay in Germany more quickly. At the same time, we want to work with the governments of these states and the EU Commission to take rapid and sustainable steps to improve the living conditions on the ground. (CDU, CSU, and SPD 2013, 109; my translation)

This commitment has been transposed into the *'Bill on the Classification of Further States as Safe Countries of Origin and on the Facilitation of Labour Market Access for Asylum Seekers and Foreigners with Leave to Remain'*[64] (BT Drucksache 18/1528, 2014, 1; my translation). The bill links the 'safe countries' proposal to improved conditions for asylum seekers from other countries, which had been agreed previously.[65]

In the paragraph that introduces the draft, the problem is described as follows:

> Due to the high number of asylum applications, which are mostly based on motives that are not relevant for asylum, the Federal Government, the states and the municipalities are burdened with considerable costs for the implementation of the procedures and the provision of care for asylum seekers residing in Germany. This is to the detriment of asylum seekers who are in actual need of protection, because less capacities are available for the timely processing of their cases. A reduction in the number of asylum applications submitted for reasons not relevant to asylum is therefore necessary. (BT Drucksache 18/1528, 2014, 1; my translation)

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[63] *Deutschlands Zukunft gestalten.*

[64] *Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Einstufung weiterer Staaten als sichere Herkunftsstaaten und zur Erleichterung des Arbeitsmarktzugangs für Asylbewerber und geduldete Ausländer.*

[65] These provisions addressed longstanding human rights concerns denounced by NGOs and migrant activists regarding the limited access to legal employment, the discriminatory nature of benefits in kind, and a restriction of movement and residence within Germany. However, these improvements have been largely rolled back again in the context of the 'refugee crisis' in 2015, while Albania, Kosovo, and Montenegro have been added to the list of 'safe countries' (see BT Drucksache 18/6185, 2015).

While the governing majority in the Bundestag voted for the proposal, Germany's federal system required a second vote in the Bundesrat (the legislative body representing the sixteen states of the country) to pass the bill. Under protests from NGOs (see for example PRO ASYL 2014), the left opposition party Die Linke, and members of his own party, the vote of Baden Württemberg's premier Winfried Kretschmann (Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen) assured the proposal a bare majority (see Süddeutsche.de 2014). Emphasising the comprehensive character of the act, Kretschmann justified his radical breach with the Green party's historical pro-migrant stance by referring to a trade-off between a burden and the capacity to help that is laid out in the draft (see Kretschmann 2014).

For citizens from 'safe countries' as defined in §29a of German asylum law[66], this classification means that their asylum application is treated as 'manifestly unfounded' and processed in a fast-tracked process with less procedural safeguards and a limited right to appeal. Breaking with the basic principle of a case-by-case determination of asylum applications, which is a binding principle in German asylum law and regarded as a cornerstone of international refugee law (see UNHCR 2010a, 2014), the access to a fair asylum procedure is effectively barred for 'safe country' applicants (also see PRO ASYL 2014, 2–3).

On the supranational level, the establishment of a EU-wide 'safe country' list is underway, and due to be implemented by 2019 (see EPRS 2015). This initiative is completed by an amendment to the European visa regulation, which for example guarantees visa free travel to the EU for citizens from Serbia and Macedonia since 2009. The new regulation that was adopted by the European Parliament in 2013 allows the temporary suspension of visa free travel under the condition of

> (…) one or more of the following circumstances leading to an emergency situation which it is unable to remedy on its own, namely a substantial and sudden increase in the number of:
>
> (a) nationals of that third country found to be staying in the Member State's territory without a right thereto;

[66] *Asylgesetz (AsylG)*. This legal provision, which is also known as '*Asylkompromiss*' (asylum compromise), was introduced in 1993, amidst a heated political climate that was fuelled by a populist discourse on migration and a string of pogrom-like attacks on migrants and refugees (see Althoetmar and Jäger 1993).

> (b) asylum applications from the nationals of that third country for which the recognition rate is low, where such an increase is leading to specific pressures on the Member State's asylum system;
>
> (c) rejected readmission applications submitted by the Member State to that third country for its own nationals. (EU Regulation 1289/2013, 2013, 78)

These policy developments on the national and supranational level are related to the discursive practices of bordering in the interviews in three important ways.

First, the construction of a state of exception, which has been a core feature of Friedrich's discourse, is also present on the level of policy, both in terms of a rhetoric justification for the legislative proposals, and in their functioning. Thus, the discursive and legal construction of a state of emergency can be regarded as interdependent dimensions of crisis-construction. As emphasised by Alon Lischinsky for the discursive construction of the 'financial crisis',

> [t]his does not mean that crises are not 'real' (…) but rather that their nature and boundaries are intersubjectively determined, for the most part by linguistic means; and, therefore, (…) the language used to talk about these phenomena is crucial in making meaning about it. (Lischinsky 2011, 153)

In this light, there is no legal state of emergency in the field of (migration) policy without the performance of a crisis in (migration) discourse, and vice versa. In his work, Lischinsky observes that crisis discourse marginalises the enunciative presence of those who are primarily affected by crisis policymaking (ibid., 165). Thus, even though the strictly representative mode of enunciation analysed in the previous part of this chapter is to a certain extent induced by the material selected, the interviews can indeed be regarded as a representative example of crisis discourse.

Second, the discursive bordering between genuine and deceptive migrant subjects crucially informs policymaking in the field of migration. A trade-off is deployed between helping legitimate asylum seekers and reducing the burden that the presence of illegitimate asylum seekers allegedly causes on the local and national level. The discursive disavowal of a legitimate presence as 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers' for citizens from specific countries of origin is mirrored by a corresponding legal exclusion from an unbiased asylum procedure. This legal exclusion crucially hinges on the construction of an essentially unfounded character of applications from these

countries, which is presented as a fact that needs no further elaboration in the policy documents. However, this void is filled with the stigmatising construction of a deviant migrant subjectivity in political discourse, as exemplified by the pseudo-legalistic subject position of 'economic refugees' in the interviews. Here, a stigmatising and homogenising representation of asylum seekers from a specific country becomes a template for administrative and legal decision-making.

Third, the justification for classifying countries as 'safe' relies on circular reasoning. The quasi-rejection of *all* asylum seekers from a country is based on the previous rejection of a large portion of applications made by citizens from the respective countries, or their allegedly high presence in numbers. The human rights NGO PRO ASYL points to the fact that even if the relatively restrictive decision-making practice of Germany is taken as a basis, an important number of individuals had indeed been granted protection previously, and that this number is even higher in other EU countries (PRO ASYL 2014, 8).

Thus, the homogenising construction of abuse that is present in Friedrich's interviews is here transposed on a legal level. The construction of abuse transforms from a homogenising accusation into an individual suspicion. It is triggered by the mere *application* for protection of a person from a specific country of origin. As becomes plainly apparent in the mission statements cited above, the aim of the new policy is the *general* reduction of asylum applications, as well as the deportation of citizens from 'safe countries'.

At first glance, these political implications exclusively pertain to the field of asylum policy by affecting those who are (not) labelled as 'asylum seekers' or 'refugees'. However, I argue that they are intimately entwined with developments affecting the free movement of EU citizens within the EUropean space.

The principle of 'free movement of persons' is laid out in EU Directive 2004/38/EC and EU Regulation 492/2011, 2011:

> Citizenship of the Union confers on every citizen of the Union a primary and individual right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in the Treaty and to the measures adopted to give it effect. (…) The free movement of persons constitutes one of the fundamental freedoms of the internal market, which comprises an area without internal frontiers, in which freedom is ensured in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty. (…) Union citizenship should be the fundamental status of nationals of the Member States when they exercise their right of free movement and residence. It is therefore necessary to codify and review the existing Community instruments dealing separately with workers, self-employed persons, as well as students and other inactive persons in order to simplify and strengthen the right of free movement and residence of all Union citizens. (EU Directive 2004/38/EC, 78)

Directly above the section on asylum, the CDU, CSU, and SPD's coalition agreement contains a part on 'poverty movements within the EU' (my translation)[67] with the following mission statement:

> We want to maintain acceptance of freedom of movement in the EU. We will therefore counteract the unjustified use of social benefits by EU citizens. (CDU, CSU, and SPD 2013, 108; my translation)

This led to a revision of the *Freizügigkeitsgesetz/EU*, which implements EU policies guaranteeing the freedom of movement of EU into German legislation. Contrary to the revised asylum legislation that was put into practice at around the same time, the bill did not cause major public attention and was passed by the Bundestag and the Bundesrat without significant delays in 2014.

[67] *Armutswanderung innerhalb der EU*. Note that the term *Wanderung* is here used instead of *Migration*. While best translated as 'population movement' in this context, it also stands for the activity of hiking.

Echoing the practices of discursive bordering observed so far, this draft is based on a split between 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' migration as well:

> Freedom of movement in the EU is one of the most important achievements of the process of European unification and one of the most visible advantages of Europe for its citizens. The vast majority of EU citizens moving to Germany exercise their right to freedom of movement in accordance with the applicable national and European rules. Abuse by a minority must be efficiently prevented on the basis of current European law. Municipalities, which are particularly affected by a growing influx from other EU member states, are confronted with a considerable burden.
>
> The aim of the present act is to prevent and consistently punish cases of abuse or fraud in connection with the right to free movement of persons, in the areas of undeclared work and illegal employment as well as regarding child benefits. At the same time, due to the special challenges posed by the increased influx from other EU member states, the municipalities will be further relieved in addition to the aid already decided upon. (BT Drucksache 18/2581, 2014, 1; my translation)

It is not difficult to recognise several core features that have been present throughout the material analysed for this chapter: a trade-off between guaranteeing a freedom and managing a burden; the issue of abuse and fraud; and the reference to a high presence in numbers, this time from "other EU member states". Interestingly, neither these states nor the origin of the "poverty movements" are geographically specified in the coalition agreement. Romania and Bulgaria are only mentioned in a relatively marginal subsection of the draft bill.

From a legal point of view, the changes affect *all* EU citizens (without German citizenship) that come to Germany. In the context of this chapter, two amendments are particularly relevant. First, the freedom of movement for the purpose of seeking work is now limited to six months.[68] And second, re-entry bans can be issued in cases of fraud or false pretence, which are exemplified with the scenarios of "pretending an

[68] Contrary to a common assumption, freedom of movement for EU citizens is only unconditional in the first three months of their stay. After that, citizens have to demonstrate that they are workers or "have sufficient resources for themselves and their family members not to become a burden on the social assistance system of the host Member State during their period of residence and have comprehensive sickness insurance cover in the host Member State" (EU Directive 2004/38/EC, Art. 7). In this light, we are more confronted with a 'free movement of workers' than of 'persons'.

actually non-existent employment relationship, or pretending an actually non-existent residence" (BT Drucksache 18/2581, 2014, 17; my translation).

However, we are rather confronted with a *selective* rollback of EU freedom of movement, than with a comprehensive reform. While at odds with the EU spirit that celebrates the fundamental character of free movement, it is important to emphasise that these changes are compatible with EU legislation to a large extent.[69] Apart from temporal conditionality, EU law also allows for restrictions of free movement on "grounds of public policy, public security or public health", or a withdrawal in the case "of abuse of rights or fraud" (EU Directive 2004/38/EC, chapter IV). Due to the unspecified character of these norms, EU member states are given a relatively flexible set of tools to define what could be called the borders of free movement. Commenting on the developments in the German context, the legal expert Claudius Voigt points out that

> it is only a small comfort that the (…) measures are only likely to have practical effects in a few cases, and are thus of a more homeopathic nature in material and legal terms. Most of the regulations are already in force, or they will affect very few people. (Voigt 2014; my translation)

While rather opaque on the national and supranational level, the political implications of these policies are best visible on the local level. Activists, practitioners, and researchers point to the systematic discrimination of economically disadvantaged EU migrants by local authorities, which results in their exclusion from social protection systems. In a comprehensive report on the legal situation of EU citizens in Germany, one of the biggest welfare federations of the country maintains that the situation "can only be described with the notion of 'social deprivation' in some cases" (Der Paritätische Gesamtverband 2013, 4; my translation). Under the new legislation, local authorities such as the social security office and the foreigners' office are obliged to assess whether an individual fulfils the conditions for free movement. This does not only confront caseworkers with a considerable workload and a task that goes well beyond their original expertise, but often also produces contradictory decisions (see

[69] Even though EU migrants' access to benefits is regularly subject to court proceedings on the national (see Der Paritätische Gesamtverband 2013) and supranational level (see Alberti 2016, 2017).

Voigt 2014). The political implications in this area are best described in terms of a differentiated, ad-hoc governance of EU migration.

The legal specialist Eberhard Eichenhofer (2014) shows that the new regulations especially target precarious forms of migration by operating a discrimination between benefits applications of German citizens and non-citizens from specific parts of the EU. The acts of moving to Germany from a context of material deprivation and applying for social benefits in the country are turned into a fraudulent and abusive circumstance. Similar to the field of asylum, it is the mere *application* for benefits that is recoded into a deviant action. Against this background, Eichenhofer wonders whether "social service providers are supposed to resume the role of the border police, which has been abolished in the EU" (Eichenhofer 2014; my translation).

In her multi-sited ethnography of Bulgarian migrant workers in Munich, Lisa Riedner (2015, 2017) shows that social policy is effectively functioning as 'selective border policy' at the municipal, national, and supranational level. She demonstrates how the discursive figures of 'poverty migration' and 'benefits abuse' are transposed into multifarious administrative practices on the ground, which are often deployed ad-hoc in sub-branches of the local administration. Riedner shows that these practices of bordering play an integral role in activating migrants as workers for the low-wage sector, while barring their access to the benefits system and creating further deprivation and homelessness at the same time. She analyses these developments in terms of a broader shift from a *welfare* to a *workfare* state, which makes migrants' right to stay conditional upon their (assumed) productivity.[70]

Often, though, being economically active is not enough. In August 2017, the Bulgarian citizen Hristo Vankov won a landmark court case against the city of Munich. After having worked and lived in Munich for 7 years, mostly in highly precarious and destitute conditions, his exclusion from the city's emergency accommodation system was ruled unlawful by a local court (see Initiative Zivilcourage 2017b). Only a few months later, he died from the long-term effects of chronic diabetes that was aggravated by his precarious life and homelessness on the streets of Munich, as well as the lack of access to the German healthcare system (see Initiative Zivilcourage

[70] While similar tendencies can be observed across the EU (see Schiek et al. 2015 for a comparative study), the workfare regime is especially pronounced in the UK (see Alberti 2017).

2017a). As already became apparent earlier, discursive borders materially affect the biophysical welfare of human beings (also see chapter 3, 109).

As in the field of asylum, these developments can be related to the discursive practices of bordering that I have scrutinised in the interviews.

Even more than in the previous example, the construction of deviance on the level of policy is not only entwined with, but logically dependent on the discursive bordering between legitimate and illegitimate migrants and the construction of 'fraud' and 'benefits abuse' in public discourse. Again, we are confronted with the discursive construction of a state of emergency that is allegedly caused by 'poverty migration'. This problematisation is reproduced on multiple levels: by politicians of all major parties, the German association of cities and towns (Deutscher Städtetag 2013), as well as by local NGOs (see for example Caritas, Malteser, and Männerfürsorge 2012). The origins of 'poverty migration' remain geographically underspecified at the supranational and national levels of policymaking. However, it is localised in Romania and Bulgaria through local administrative practices and the public discourse on EU migration to Germany, as exemplified by the interviews. In this light, the restrictions on free movement that were initially imposed on Bulgarian and Romanian citizens but lifted in 2014 are reborn in the guise of practices of discursive bordering and policies against 'poverty migration'.

Though presented as a fact in public discourse and policymaking, the preconstruct of 'benefits abuse' is not based on statistical evidence. For 2013, police statistics show that the number of Bulgarian and Romanian citizens who are suspected of fraudulent benefits claims is in the per thousand range (see zeit.de 2014). According to the government's answer to a parliamentary inquiry submitted by members of the Green party, no statistics are gathered on the issue at the national or supranational level. The government was unable to provide figures on convictions, expulsions, and re-entry bans that resulted from such cases of fraud and abuse since the new law came into force (see BT Drucksache 18/7199, 2016). It can thus be concluded that the construction of 'benefits abuse' is based on stigma and anecdotal evidence, and not on reliable figures.

Bulgarian and Romanian citizens living in Germany are indeed struggling with a higher level of unemployment than German nationals (see Bundesagentur für Arbeit

2017), which is often seen as an indicator for their lack of economic performance. However, a report published by the research centre of the German employment agency (Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung 2015) allows adopting a more nuanced perspective (see table 2).

Table 2 Comparison of relevant labour market indicators in December 2013 / January 2014 (compiled according to Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung 2015, 5)

	Bulgarian citizens	**Romanian citizens**	**German citizens**
Unemployment	17.3%	9.5%	8.5 %
Social benefits (SGB II)	17.6%	8.2 %	7.4 %
In-work benefits (SGB II)	17.1%	5.5%	3.3%

While the levels of unemployment and social benefits (according to SGB II of the German social code) are more prevalent among Bulgarian and Romanian citizens than among German citizens, the spread between Romanians and Germans is almost negligible. At the same time, the number of workers who need to 'top up' their wages with in-work benefits (so-called *Aufstocker*) is significantly higher among migrants (and especially Bulgarian citizens), which hints at a higher proportion of low-wage jobs in the lower strata of the labour market. In February 2015, up to 72% of Bulgarians and Romanians in Germany were economically active (Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung 2015, 2). On this basis, it can be argued that the proportion of economically active persons in the migrant group almost compares to that of German citizens.[71]

As became already apparent in the interviews, 'abuse' and 'fraud' represent discursive pre-constructs that stabilise practices of discursive bordering between 'good' and 'bad' migrant subjects. They are filled with meaning through the homogenising and stigmatising misrepresentation of migrants from specific countries of origin such as Bulgaria and Romania, and put into practice through administrative practices on the ground. By perpetuating material deprivation through a widespread exclusion of

[71] More generally, recent studies have shown that EU migrants are considerably less likely to be economically inactive and receive social benefits than nationals living in the same European country (see for example ICF GHK and Milieu Ltd. 2013; The Migration Observatory 2016; Martinsen and Pons Rotger 2017). Contrary to a widespread narrative that is also present in academic research (see for example Ruhs 2013), there is no evidence that benefits constitute a significant 'pull factor' for migrations between EU member states.

precarious migrants from systems of social assistance and benefits, these practices retroactively justify and create the conditions which feed into their discursive representation. Like in the case of asylum seekers from Serbia and Macedonia, the problematised presence of migrants from Bulgaria and Romania is marked by circular reasoning, which obfuscates the causes for material deprivation. While effective on different levels of policymaking and affecting individuals from different countries of origin that are profiled with a differential set of policies, the political developments and implications explored in this section are marked by striking similarities.

In my analysis, it has become clear that precarious forms of migration are targeted by material-discursive practices of bordering in a generalised way, no matter whether those who are in the focus are initially labelled as 'refugees / asylum seekers' or '(labour) migrants'. At the same time, the borders between the fields of 'asylum' and 'freedom of movement' are stabilised by introducing policies that differentially target people from EU member states and non-member states. In the following section, I will scrutinise the present-absent intersectionality that entwines and stabilises the material-discursive practices of bordering analysed so far.

The present-absent intersectionality of discursive bordering

I have coined the notion of discursive *supraversion* to describe the simultaneous stabilisation and thwarting of discursive borders such as the labour / refugee divide. In the light of the policy developments and the crucial role that stigmatisation plays across different sections of discourse, I propose to adopt an intersectional perspective on discursive bordering in the broadest sense. This allows to grasp the supraversion of borders between different 'types' of movements alongside related dimensions of in- and exclusion on the basis of race/ethnicity, class, and gender.

While the construction of deviance in the fields of 'asylum' and 'freedom of movement' is strikingly similar, their entwinement has not fully been explored so far. I argue that an intersectional construction of difference and belonging constitutes an important present-absent precondition for the construction and supraversion of the labour / refugee divide.

In relation to the discursive construction of a deviant migrant other, it is more than a mere coincidence that Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, and Romania are not only situated

at the geographical periphery of the EUropean space of movements, but also within the imagined space of the Balkans. In her history of Balkanism, Maria Todorova qualifies the status of the Balkans as 'the other within' the EUropean construction:

> By being geographically inextricable from Europe, yet culturally constructed as 'the other' within, the Balkans have been able to absorb conveniently a number of externalized political, ideological, and cultural frustrations stemming from tensions and contradictions inherent to the regions and societies outside the Balkans. (…) After all, the Balkans are in Europe; they are white; they are predominantly Christian, and therefore the externalization of frustrations on them can circumvent the usual racial or religious bias allegations. As in the case of the Orient, the Balkans have served as a repository of negative characteristics against which a positive and self-congratulatory image of the 'European' and the 'West' has been constructed. With the re-emergence of East and orientalism as independent semantic values, the Balkans are left in Europe's thrall, anticivilization, alter ego, the dark side within. (Todorova 2009, 188)

Balkanism provides the ideological suture between the cognate problematisation of labour and refugee migration from specific countries of origin. But it also furnishes a repository of discursive stereotypes that feed into their stigmatised representation. While the region is stereotypically associated with criminality, laziness, unreliability, lack of discipline, and promiscuity, this construction of difference importantly interfaces with historical and contemporary forms of anti-Roma racism[72] (see Selling 2015; End 2015). For the German context, Markus End has shown that these stereotypes are historically and presently performing the function of "an archaic counter-image to the norm of the majority society" (End 2011; my translation).

Against the background of a strictly representative mode of enunciation, racist stereotyping enables a discursive bordering between the (white) national 'we' and a racialised migrant 'other' that is seen as a danger to the (imagined) national and trans-national space of EUropean 'freedom' and 'traditions' (see chapter 3, 100ff.).

[72] In the international discussion, anti-Roma racism is sometimes referred to as *anti-gypsyism* or *antiziganism* (see Randjelovič 2014 for a critical reflection on these terms).

In her work on the connections between European liberalism and colonialism, Lisa Lowe points out the links of

> liberties defined in the abstract terms of citizenship, rights, wage labor, free trade, and sovereignty with the attribution of racial difference to those subjects, regions, and populations that liberal doctrine describes as 'unfit for liberty' or 'incapable of civilization', placed at the margins of liberal humanity. (Lowe 2015, 7)

In the Balkanist stereotype, migrant subjects from Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania, or Macedonia are not only seen as coming from a geographically marginal and 'uncivilised' space to EUrope's liberal 'centre'. They are also regarded as threatening its political and ethnical coherence. In this way, the deviant migrant other is classified as 'peripheral' in several ways: geographically, culturally, and economically. This bordering echoes what I have called a colonial gesture of classification in the previous chapter (see chapter 3, 120ff.).

However, the racist representation of migration does not only stabilise the borders of the liberal nation state and whiteness as a hegemonic norm for the national ingroup. It also assures the functional differentiation within *both* groups. In our case, this is done by differentiating a 'good' migrant subject (those who are productive and deserving of welfare or protection) from a deviant subjectivity (those who are unproductive and abusing welfare or protection). In this way, the negative stereotype of deviant subjectivity cuts *across* the border between citizens and non-citizens. In terms of a classist differentiation, it gains normative meaning for 'German' citizens who are affected by the transformations from welfare to workfare themselves; and it creates a split within the migrant group by positing liberal (and, one could add, sexist) norms of economic productivity, which are easier to meet for those who are privileged along the lines of class and gender.

Here, racism – which of course also affects German citizens or migrants who do not identify as Roma – crucially intersects with a classist stigmatisation of the working poor, whose material position is recoded from being a structural consequence of borders and a mode of production into a cultural identity. While non-migrant and migrant workers effectively share similar class interests, racism and whiteness systematically obfuscate this link by asserting racial and cultural difference over potential solidarities across the borders of citizenship and status. It could be argued that crafting such solidarities is further complicated by the representative setup of large

sections of migration discourse, which makes it difficult for migrant subjects to articulate their personal needs, experiences, and political positions. In German discourses on EUropean migration, the presence of what Bassel calls "intersectional voices" (2010, 158) is peripheral. Speaking at the centre, they could challenge constructions of difference across multiple categories that systematically reproduce the enunciative privilege of non-migrant subjects.

Resorting to Ted Allen and Noel Ignatiev's influential work on the obstructive role of white supremacy and white-skin privilege in American worker struggles of the late 1960s, this configuration can be described as a "sweetheart agreement" – "an opportunistic 'contract' between the exploiters and a part of the exploited, at the expense of the rest of the exploited" (Allen and Ignatiev 2011, 150). Against the background of the brutal and dehumanising effects of racism that became painfully visible in the anonymous echo chamber of YouTube user comments and the largely representative structure of migration discourse, it is not difficult to imagine how such a contract can stay in place.

However, the ideological structure of racism is not fully consistent in itself. Its inherent ambivalence consists in a contradiction between the discursive construction of not-quite EUropean subjects, and quite or almost EUropean 'home countries'. On the one side, cultural difference and an alleged lack of development are mobilised to stigmatise individual migrants as abusive subjects. On the other, the alleged safety and development potentials of their 'home countries' (as well as their status as EU member states or candidates) is asserted to justify deportations and the possibility of a dignified life 'at home'. By contrast, researchers and human rights organisations are pointing to the devastating living conditions, widespread material deprivation, and structural forms of discrimination in countries like Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Macedonia, which especially affect minority groups like Roma (see for example Jeremić 2012; Kropp and Striethorst 2012; PRO ASYL 2014), and particularly Romani women (see Kóczé and Popa 2009).

In particular the gender dimension was virtually absent from the material analysed in this chapter. From an intersectional point of view, this absence has to be grasped as a further dimension of material-discursive exclusion, in which sexism multiplies with racism and classism. In her research on Bulgarian care workers in Munich, Julia Serdarov shows that migrant women are confronted with various forms of racist and

sexist discrimination that ambivalently render them visible as problematic subjects and invisible as workers in the informal care sector (Serdarov 2013). In this way, they are both excluded from the imagined national community, and the discursive position of 'productive' labour migrants that largely excludes reproductive labour. In the interviews and policies, the structural function that informal, reproductive, and unwaged labour plays for the national and transnational economy is completely masked. It can be argued that the differential *exclusion* of migrant subjects from legal status as well as institutional and discursive regimes of representation effectively *includes* them in a precarious, exploitable section of the labour market as 'surplus population' (see Endnotes 2010).[73] Here, the political economy of discursive borders and the colonial gesture of classification becomes visible (also see chapter 3, 120ff.).

From a macro perspective, Angéla Kóczé and Raluca Popa show in their work on the situation of Romani women in Europe that this group is particularly affected by a widespread exclusion from the education system, the labour market, and healthcare provisions (Kóczé and Popa 2009). The availability of non-aggregated statistics on these issues is quite limited. A notable exception is constituted by a report of the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA 2013), which confirms Kóczé and Popa's main findings. Overall, the gender dimensions of the labour / refugee divide and cognate practices of discursive bordering remain under-researched and require further attention.

While intersectional difference is mobilised for the discursive construction of 'problematic' migrant subjectivities, material differences in wealth and security are not accepted as legitimate reasons for moving to and through EUrope. In representative top-down discourses, racism, classism, and sexism are not made relevant in terms of an intersectional cause for, or an ongoing effect of, migration and displacement. However, they function as a present-absent ideological linkage between different 'types' of migration, and different areas of policymaking. Indeed, it could be argued that supraversion functions exactly because stigma and stereotypes are capable of travelling across borders and contexts.

[73] In classical Marxism, this is described in terms of an "industrial reserve army of labour" (see Engels [1845] 2009; Marx and Engels 1962, 657ff.).

Intersectional constructions of difference contribute to both dimensions of discursive supraversion that have been analysed in this chapter. On the one side, they furnish the 'ideological glue' that connects the discursive constructions of deviance in the fields of 'asylum' and 'freedom of movement', and even transcends the distinction between migrant and non-migrant subjects. On the other, the present-absent quality of intersectionality, which is not always fully visible and spelled out on the textual surface of discourse, guarantees that hegemonic differentiations (such as the labour / refugee divide) and the nativist bordering of Germany's imagined community remain intact. In contrast to the idealised notions of 'free movement' and teleological models of European integration (see Haas [1958] 2004; Wiener and Diez 2005), we are here confronted with a tendential disintegration of the EUropean space of movements. This process hardens some of the internal and external lines of difference, which have historically fractured the uneven EUropean space (see chapter 3, 103ff.).

Effectively, the combination of homogenising and differentiating tendencies turns discursive supraversion into a *flexible* mode of migration governance. Far from merely being an unfortunate coincidence or a lack of political coherence, heterogeneity constitutes an inherent factor of (discursive) practices of bordering. This does not imply that these practices are *intentionally* incoherent and ambiguous. However, political actors are confronted with the double excess of borders and migration, and have to deal with it on the discursive and the political level. In this light, supraversion is best described as an ad-hoc strategy of differential inclusion, which performs a simultaneous reproduction and thwarting of hegemonic differentiations to capture the excess of migration.

As a discursive practice of bordering, differential inclusion is stabilised by the insidious workings of intersectional difference, which links up with the discrimination between different 'forms' of migration. Racism, classism, and sexism constitute a repository of stereotypes and stigmatising representations, which are interdiscursively linked to practices of bordering in public and policy discourse. At the same time, the material effects that intersectional forms of oppression and economic deprivation have on the movements of people are obfuscated in representative discourses on migration.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have scrutinised practices of bordering in German discourses on EUropean migration. Combining a micro-enunciative analysis of public discourse with an intersectional perspective on migration policy, I have developed the notion of discursive supraversion to grasp the concurrent reproduction and thwarting of the labour / refugee divide. Supraversion intervenes in the double excess of migration in different ways.

First and foremost, it allows the channelling of the surplus of reality that is inherent in movements of migration by selectively bordering the surplus of meaning that characterises migration discourse. While the complexity and autonomy of migration always already disrupts binary categorisations, the surplus of meaning around conceptual categories such as 'refugees' and 'labour migrants' allows a flexible governance of migrations through a material-discursive rejection of 'deviant' migrants.

Similar to large sections of EUropean migration discourse, the material analysed in this chapter is characterised by a setup in which discourse participants talk *about* migrants and movements of migration, not *with* them. As became apparent in this chapter, top-down discourse cedes no (or only very limited) space to the 'intersectional voices' of migrants. Under the hegemony of a largely *representative* mode of enunciation, a governance of the autonomy of migration becomes possible because of, and not in spite of, a surplus of meaning around migration. In this way, a differential inclusion of migration in a given political conjuncture is 'managed' discursively. This does not mean that migrant subjects are without voice or agency. Ultimately, the material-discursive excess of meaning and reality around migration does not only create the conditions for supraversion, but also enables subversion and resistance in migrant struggles. This will become apparent in the next chapter.

As in the context of 'Brexit' and the 'refugee crisis' of 2015, the conditions of production of the material analysed in this chapter are marked by the assertion of a crisis. Indeed, I would argue that the material-discursive phenomena analysed here expose the wider political implications and historical lineages of these more recent events. Intersectional discrimination and oppression along the lines of class, race/ethnicity, and gender provide the 'ideological glue' to transcend imagined borders between different 'types' of movements across different temporal and spatial contexts.

At the same time, the supraversion of the labour / refugee divide maintains the white, male, productive subject as a normative point of reference, against the background of which *other*, migrant and non-migrant bodies are profiled and evaluated.

Returning to Balibar's argument on "the reciprocal action of crisis and racism" and his call to analyse "the social crisis as a racist crisis", the material-discursive functioning of "crisis racism" (Balibar [1988] 1991, 218) has become plainly apparent here. Looking at the whiteness of Brexit from an intersectional point of view, Akwugo Emejulu makes a similar point and cautions against an ahistorical analysis of bordering:

> I question those who now claim to stand shoulder to shoulder with me when they also maintain, without irony, that a focus on race and 'identity politics' fractures the left at a time of crisis and undermines class politics. I question those who now only seem to care about racism and xenophobia when Brexit has used their bodies as borders. I question those who now believe racism is real because they have witnessed it with their own eyes. I also question those who seek to extract from me and other people of colour our emotional labour to absolve them of responsibility. (Emejulu 2017)

I believe that this and the preceding chapter make a strong case for a historical and intersectional analysis of EUrope's contemporary border regime. In the following chapter and the epilogue, I will focus on activist practices that turn discursive borders into a political question. Here, 'intersectional voices' craft a collective politics that allows moving within, across, and beyond discursive borders. At the same time, questions of solidarity and responsibility will take centre stage.

Chapter 5: Crossing EUrope's Material-discursive Borderscapes

Walking on a dirt track, my gaze passes over the scenery lying ahead of me. We are surrounded by seemingly endless fields and little hills, birds are singing, the smell of spring is in the air. I can hear the rattling engine of an old tractor making its rounds in some distance. *Oh la la…Oh lé lé…* my feet are getting tired, and I can feel another blister developing on the side of my big toe. 8 kilometres to go today. Some friends run towards me and give me a collective hug, encouraging me to join in with them. We are jumping and singing with the beat of the drums and claps *… solidarité, avec les sans-papiers!* [74] The beat carries us to the next break, tonight's sleeping place is not far away.

A few hours later. We are still walking, now in silence. I am kicking little pebbles past a bigger rectangular stone that lines the path. I take a closer look: in weather-beaten white paint, a capital ***D*** and ***B*** are written on either of its sides. ***D****eutschland* **|** ***B****elgique* – I move my right foot to the rear side of the stone and back, two times, three times. *Is this a border?* For an instant, it almost seems trivial, absurd. A stone on a path…

Another chant carries me away again – *C'est la marche des sans-papiers, Strasbourg à Bruxelles à pied, POUR LA LIBERTÉ!* – Intonated by the enthusiastic throats of hundreds of activists, the last words reverberate in the landscape: this is the march of the *sans-papiers*, walking from Strasbourg to Brussels, for freedom! "When I crossed the first border between Kehl and Strasbourg", one of the activists would say retrospectively, "I felt as if my life was coming back to me. Respect us as humans, for all human beings are one!" (quoted in March for Freedom 2014b, 27; my translation). Clearly, for those who are affected by EUrope's exclusionary border regime on an everyday basis, much more was at stake than a few blisters and a musical spectacle.

In this chapter, I take a look at EUrope's material-discursive borders from a bottom-up perspective. More precisely, I am interested in how practices of discursive

[74] In the French speaking context, 'sans-papiers' has become a widely used self-denomination of activists struggling against the border regime (see Cissé 1997 for a situated perspective; as well as Barron et al. 2011; McNevin 2006).

bordering are turned into a political stake in the context of a border struggle, the *March for Freedom* from Strasbourg to Brussels in the spring of 2014.

In what follows, enunciative pragmatics is mobilised as a *situated* perspective to scrutinise discursive borders through the lens of activist practices, as well as my own involvement in the protest march. To this end, reflexive statements made on the way by non-citizen activists are taken as expressions of political standpoints and situated practices of theorising. This allows showing how the marching activist challenged top-down practices of bordering (some of which have been explored in the previous chapters) by crossing physical and discursive boundaries that differentially exclude them from a dignified and safe life. Moving through EUrope's borderscapes, the activists of the *March for Freedom* crafted a prefigurative politics that made it possible to move within, across, and beyond borders.

This chapter is based on a fine-grained enunciative analysis of the entire set of 58 statements that were produced during the march and subsequently published on the protest blog against the background of my own involvement in the protest. For this purpose, the text-focussed approach of enunciative pragmatics was extended with an ethnographic sensitivity to grasp situated practices of discursive un/bordering from a reflexive point of view. While a fully-fledged ethnography would require a different theoretical and methodological apparatus, as well as a deeper immersion in the field, and some of the 'traditional' elements of ethnography (especially interviews, but also detailed descriptions of networks and constellations of actors) are unsuitable for my research (on this point, also see the notes on research ethics in the appendix, 229ff.), my observations and experiences in the field constitute a crucial frame of reference for the analysis conducted in this chapter. The examples in this chapter were chosen according to their illustrative character (density of enunciative markers, deployment of conceptual signifiers, and thematic variety). Mostly, they are reproduced in their entirety to do justice to their political character.

This research strategy is inspired by and contributes to recent advances in Critical Migration Studies that point to the inherently discursive character of ethnographic situations (see De Genova 2005, 67), and call for an ethnographic analysis of border regimes that departs from the situated knowledges of migrants in struggle (see Hess 2012; Tsianos, Hess, and Karakayalı 2009) in the tradition of multi-sited ethnography (see Marcus 1995). Additionally, it complements recent work in Discourse Studies that

promotes a combination of discourse analysis and ethnography (see for example Macgilchrist and Van Hout 2011; Krzyżanowski 2011). Rather than mechanically articulating discourse analysis with ethnographic methods, the perspective adopted in this chapter is best described as a situated materialist discourse analysis that extends the gaze of enunciative discourse analysis beyond the desk of the researcher.

Figure 8 March for Freedom – Poster (Source: March for Freedom 2014e)

Figure 9 March for Freedom – Mobilisation flyer (Source: March for Freedom 2014g, 2014f)

On the transnational protest *March for Freedom*, more than 100 activists walked from Strasbourg (France) to Brussels (Belgium), and crossed four EUropean borders in May and June of 2014.[75] In Brussels, the march culminated in a weeklong protest camp with demonstrations, workshops, and networking events that attracted up to 400 participants. The protest was organised by a wide coalition of migrant and non-migrant activists from different countries of the world, with and without a formal residence status in the EU (also see the mobilisation material in figures 8 and 9):

> We are asylum seekers, refugees, undocumented migrants, migrants from many European countries, we are Europeans with a 'migration background', we are all those who have no full privilege of citizenship, but also citizens who share a common anger against the racist EU migration policy.
>
> **We have a dream:**
>
> Freedom of movement and of residence for all asylum seekers.
>
> Stop the Dublin trap and the obligatory residence in Lagers throughout Europe.
>
> Permanent documents without criteria (not depending on working contracts or individual state prosecution).
>
> Stop the imprisonment and deportation of migrants.
>
> Same working conditions for all.
>
> Same political, social and cultural rights for all: right to study and to work.
>
> Stop the European imperialist policies: no more free-trade treaties and NATO-wars.
>
> Abolish Frontex, Eurosur and other anti-migration policies and measures.
>
> **Join us!**
>
> (March for Freedom 2014f; emphasis in the original)

After a farewell event in Berlin, the march started with a rally in Kehl, a town at the border between Germany and France on May 18th. The 500-kilometer-long route led the activists via France, Germany, and Luxembourg to Belgium, right into the ventricle of Brussel's EU bureaucracy. The beginning of the protest coincided with the

[75] The *March for Freedom* blog can be accessed at freedomnotfrontex.noblogs.org (last accessed October 31st, 2017). Besides the statements, it contains a large collection of photos, videos, press clippings, and reports.

European Parliamentary elections in early May, and the protest camp with a meeting of the European Council at the end of June.

Importantly, the *March for Freedom* is not an isolated protest event, but stands in a long tradition of transnational organising against borders, racism, and migration control in and beyond EUrope. These struggles have gained wider visibility at least since the 1960s in the strikes of migrant workers (see Bojadžijev 2002, 2008; Karakayalı 2008), the *sans-papiers* movement (see Cissé 1997; McNevin 2006), the *No Borders* and *No One is Illegal* networks (see Stierl 2012; King 2016; Casas-Cortes et al. 2014), feminist and anti-racist struggles (see Bassel 2010, 2014; Bassel and Emejulu 2010, 2014; Emejulu and Bassel 2015), as well as struggles of migrants, refugees and their supporters (see Ataç et al. 2015; and the contributions in Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2016b). This multiplicity of struggles forms an important background for the autonomy of migration approach (see chapter 1, 23ff.). While sharing important features with this activist legacy (for example regarding the actors and networks involved, or the practices of organising and slogans used), the protest march is also part of a *specific* cycle of struggles.

In 2012, what is often called a "new era of protest" (Refugee Tent Action 2013b) started spreading across EUrope[76] from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Hungary to Sweden (see Ataç et al. 2015; Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2016a). Apart from a significant accumulation of struggles, two main features made these movements stand out: an intensified focus on creating spatial visibility through protest marches and occupations of the public space; as well as a fundamental questioning of politics of representation in both mainstream society and activist circles through a strong emphasis on autonomy and self-organisation (see From the Struggles Collective 2015 for a collection of political positions and reflections).

This chapter is written from my reflexive perspective of an activist researcher who joined the protest for five out of six weeks. Having been active in anti-racist politics for several years, I first heard about the evolving idea of a protest march through the

[76] In fact, the political implications of these movements spatially go beyond EUrope by resonating with similar struggles around the world. On a temporal level, they can be seen as an important precursor to the self-organised protest marches and occupations in the 'Summer of Migration' of 2015.

political networks I was involved in. For me, joining the march did not exclusively follow an academic rationale.[77] Sharing the 'anger against the racist EU migration policy' brought up on the mobilisation flyer, I was first and foremost motivated to take part by two political reasons: I wanted to support what looked like a worthwhile cause, and to continue exploring collective forms of protest that promise social change. In addition to presenting a powerful challenge to the exclusionary politics of control described in the previous chapters, the march has also allowed me to come up with an account of discursive borders that I could have never produced on my own, without being involved in the collective politics that have been crafted while walking from Strasbourg to Brussels.

Outline

In the first part, I will introduce two epistemological shifts that underpin the situated perspective on discursive borders in this chapter: a move towards enunciative analysis as a situated method in the tradition of 'militant research'; and a move towards the politics of self-representation in political statements of non-citizen activists, which breaks with the representative logics of migration discourse.

In the second part, I will present the results of my analysis of these statements against the background of my experiences as a EU citizen joining the march in solidarity. I show how the participants of the march crafted a fragile collective 'we', which moved within, across, and beyond EUrope's material-discursive borderscapes and prefigured an unconditional understanding of free movement.

In the last part, I problematise the relation between activist research, care, and responsibility by reflecting on the reproduction of enunciative and material privilege in activism and academia.

[77] However, my status as a funded PhD student made it possible to march through EUrope's borderlands for several weeks, without worrying about money and other commitments. Furthermore, as becomes evident here, my experiences did eventually feed into my PhD, and have thus been injected in the cycle of academic valorisation. I will reflect on this problem and the negotiation of different (and sometimes contradictory) subject positions of activist research throughout this chapter.

1. Analysing / Abolishing Borders from Below

During the run-up to the protest march, much uncertainty prevailed regarding the physical border crossings on the way. While some participants with a safe status in the EU chose not to carry identity documents as a gesture of solidarity, many non-citizens did not have the choice to do so in the first place. Their protest consisted precisely in taking back their freedom of movement by crossing EUrope's borders *without* holding a EU passport or deferring to administrative procedures.

In some contradiction to the celebration of collectivity from which the march was able to draw much energy, it also exposed the enormous inequality that made me and other participants stand out from those without a secure status. Some dimensions of this diametrical difference have already surfaced above. Over the weeks of the protest, differences in terms of personal experiences and privilege became apparent time and again. In this light, crossing borders must not exclusively be seen as referring to the physical borderscapes, but also to crossing the material-discursive borders that separate human beings along the intersectional lines of status, citizenship, race/ethnicity, class, or gender.

Figure 10 Abolish borders from below (Picture taken by the author)

Abolish borders from below: written on a flag that was carried on the march (see figure 10), I propose to take this slogan as a methodological cue and turn analysing and abolishing borders into a joint concern. My analysis is inspired by two political-epistemological interventions: the powerful politics of self-organisation that characterised the movements of 2012-2014; as well as the call for knowledge production from the perspective of the movements and struggles of migration in Critical Migration Studies.

In this part of the chapter, I perform an epistemological shift towards a situated analysis of discursive bordering. At the same time, the claims of autonomy that characterise the *March for Freedom* and other contemporary struggles of migration are taken seriously by engaging with the politics of representation they entail. This also involves addressing the reproduction of enunciative power relations in activism and research. The perspective developed here allows scrutinising the collective 'we' that emerged during the protest march in its fragile, contradictory, yet powerful complexity. By extension, it puts into practice a reflexive and situated approach to discourse, which can be applied in other political contexts. In the following, I will briefly introduce the analytical perspective and the material analysed in this chapter.

Epistemological shift I: enunciative analysis as a situated approach

The critical strands of Migration Studies that I draw on in my research heavily rely on ethnographic methods (see Tsianos, Hess, and Karakayalı 2009; Hess 2012), and adopt an explicitly political perspective by siding with the movements and struggles of migration in what is conceived of as 'militant research'.[78] While a concern for discourse is present in these approaches, it usually figures as a theoretical concept, and is not operationalised in terms of a systematic discourse analytical method. Putting a major emphasis on the political involvement in migrant struggles, the benefits of discourse analysis for a situated knowledge production are often precluded by confining it to a distinct phase of research that happens 'outside of the field'. In the

[78] Historically, militant research has been developed in autonomist workers struggles. Also see chapter 1, 23ff.; and the contributions to Glenda Garelli and Martina Tazzioli's special issue on militant research in Migration Studies (Garelli and Tazzioli 2013b; Mezzadra, Garelli, and Tazzioli 2013; Sossi 2013; Grappi 2013; Scheel 2013b).

autonomy of migration approach, discourse is seen as strictly separate from 'material' phenomena (see chapter 1, 30ff.).

At the same time (and against a common stereotype), Discourse Studies are indeed based on the impetus to analyse discourse *beyond* its textual and representative character. This is for example reflected in the emphasis on the materiality, contextuality, and contested nature of discourse in enunciative pragmatics and other approaches that stand in the materialist tradition (see chapter 2, 69ff.). However, it is probably accurate to say that enunciative pragmatics (as with Discourse Studies more generally) still tends to be a largely desk-based activity, which processes semiotic material produced in different contexts against the background of a theoretical framework.

Against such an unfortunate division of labour, I propose to extend the analytical grasp of enunciative analysis beyond the desk. Borrowing the words of Nicholas de Genova, I am going to scrutinise the EUropean migration regime

> from the critical standpoint of (…) migration as a particular racialized, transnational, working-class social formation (…) in dialogue with some of the people whose everyday struggles have produced and sustained that dynamic. (De Genova 2005, 18)

Against this background, I insist on the fact that material context is not something that can be resorted to mechanically to make sense *of* discourse, but is continuously produced in and through a co-constitutive relation *with* discourse. To grasp this dynamic relation, I use enunciative pragmatics as a toolbox for a situated and materialist analysis of discursive bordering in migrant struggles. Through what Glenda Garelli and Martina Tazzioli call the 'political epistemology' of militant research,

> critical analytics are developed, sifting through the depth of migration experiences and the acts of governance enacted upon them, to unpack crucial struggle-sites. (Garelli and Tazzioli 2013a)

Instead of substituting enunciative pragmatics with ethnographic methods, but also beyond merely 'consulting' the material context of the march, I have taken materialist discourse analysis with me, in order to unpack the protest march as a crucial struggle site while being involved in it as a political subject.

The first epistemological shift is best described as bringing a concern for the *situated* construction of time, space, and subjectivities, as well as the effects of preconstructs

to the *March for Freedom*. Such a situated analysis of discursive bordering and the double excess of migration allows for what Sandro Mezzadra describes as "the ability to locate and consolidate the possibility of ruptures":

> You don't produce ruptures through militant investigations but what you can do is to work toward the localization of the points in spatial terms and the moments in temporal terms of a potential rupture. (Mezzadra, Garelli, and Tazzioli 2013, 310)

While allowing us to consider how discursive borders are politicised from below, the confrontation with struggles and the actual and potential ruptures they produce also allows us to recover the political impetus that characterised the materialist beginnings of discourse analysis. For Mezzadra, militant research performs a "double opening":

> on the one hand, to put it metaphorically, an opening toward the bottom, towards struggles; on the other hand, (…) an opening toward the production of concepts and theoretical innovation. (Mezzadra, Garelli, and Tazzioli 2013, 309–10)

However, this results in a contradictory positioning between a border struggle such as the *March for Freedom* and the production of knowledge. In the militant research literature, this has been described in terms of a problematic 'distance' (Mezzadra, Garelli, and Tazzioli 2013; Garelli and Tazzioli 2013b) or a 'militant research conundrum' (Grappi 2013): If we conceive, as proposed by de Genova, of the relation between (academic) knowledge production and struggles in terms of a dialogue, who is holding the enunciative privilege? This problem will be addressed by shifting my analytical gaze towards the politics of self-representation.

Epistemological shift II: the politics of self-representation

The second epistemological shift pertains to the enunciative power relations within activist spaces, and between struggles and their (academic) representation. I have already pointed to the fact that addressing the issue of representation is a core feature of the 'new' cycle of struggles that would eventually culminate in the *March for Freedom*.

Ilker Ataç et al. characterise this political reorientation as follows:

> [R]efugee activists raise their voices publicly and without intermediaries. This allowed them to break with media and political discourses characterising them either as victims or criminals. The importance given to speaking-for-oneself also needs to be understood as an attempt to establish a political practice through which these social actors escape their normalising representation and paternalistic treatment, as especially NGOs were often criticised for. This has, once again, raised the question of the representation of refugees and illegalised subjects. Almost twenty years ago already, activists from *The Voice Refugee Forum* and the *Caravan for the Rights of Refugees and Migrants* had vehemently formulated their vision of autonomous political structures and organisation for and by migrants. While the struggles of these collectives received little public acknowledgement for many years, the refugee struggles of 2012 became, at least for some time, a popular subject in the mass media. (Ataç et al. 2015)

In the German context, developing a politics of self-representation was particularly pronounced in the networks *Refugee Tent Action* and *Refugee Struggle for Freedom*[79], which caused public attention with protest marches, occupations of public space, and hunger strikes in Bavaria and Berlin. Members of both networks were involved in the *March for Freedom*.

On the discursive and organisational level, their actions were based on a rejection of the 'asylum seeker' subject position, and the collective self-designation as 'non-citizens':

> The 'asylum-seeker' label was put on us by these governments that set the discriminatory laws. A label which makes others think of us as poor people who can't even do the easiest of tasks.
>
> **We are Non-Citizens**
>
> Today we came to the streets to shout, that in a first step, we want to choose our own name. We believe we are non-citizens, non-citizens who get excluded from accessing the rights a citizen has in this society. From all the basic rights of human beings, we non-citizens, only have a place to sleep, food packages to eat, nightmares of deportations and living in fear and terror.

[79] While their composition has changed over time, *Refugee Struggle for Freedom* and *Refugee Tent Action* are still active today.

> Today we came to the streets of Munich, building a non-citizens' resistance tent to announce that we don't accept this discrimination. To change the situation, we just need the will of struggle of all aware non-citizens. A struggle that believes in non-citizens becoming citizens, regardless of gender, language, nationality or culture. It's any non-citizen's right to make this happen. Non-citizens have to get organized – and this organizing has to be: for ourselves by ourselves. (Refugee Tent Action 2013b; emphasis in the original)

This positioning had not only direct organisational consequences for their struggles and the collaboration between 'non-citizens' and 'supporters' (see Refugee Tent Action 2013a; as well as Ünsal 2015 for a reflection from an intersectional perspective). It also resulted in new forms of content production and dissemination through blogs and social media; book projects such as *In Our Own Words* (International Women Space 2015), which collects stories of refugee women in Germany; or the Berlin-based newspaper *Daily Resistance*, which operates enunciative and political autonomy as a core principle:

> Daily Resistance is also a message to well-off segments who campaign, publish books, make films on behalf of refugees and who use us and our struggle as a tool for their own ends. We tell them that as we organize our own action, we can have our own say as well. Stop using us as sheep to the slaughter! (Daily Resistance 2016)

From an enunciative point of view, these interventions can be described as breaking with representative discourses *about* a migrant or refugee 'other' (this configuration has dominated the material analysed in the two previous chapters) with collective discursive interventions by and for non-citizens/migrants/refugees. In a certain sense, what Leah Bassel terms "intersectional voices" (2010, 158) are here speaking in a collective mode of enunciation. In this way, they not only challenge dominant regimes of political and discursive representation, but also the conditions and relations of production they are embedded in, by strategically appropriating the means of production to intervene in migration discourse from the standpoint of migration.[80] Here, the enunciative privilege of speaking from the powerful positions of 'I am…' and 'we are…' is occupied by those subjects that previously had no (or only very limited) means to intervene in the chain of migration discourse.

[80] By extension, I would argue that these interventions should be seen as a genuine form of theorising from the borders as well.

This has important implications for academic knowledge production. In no way does research stand outside of these dynamics (and crucially, this also applies to critical and militant traditions). Causing some friction with the shift towards militant research and the call to produce knowledge from the perspective of migration, the second epistemological shift challenges the idea of a straightforward mediation between activism and (academic) knowledge production. This is especially the case when it is conducted from the limited perspective of *people like me* (that is, by those who are not affected by the brutality that the EUropean migration regime emanates on a daily basis).[81] Doing activist research involves handling a multitude of contradictory subject positions such as 'researcher', 'activist', 'supporter', 'PhD student', as well as material, intersectional forms of privilege.

With the words of Stuart Hall, "there is no essential, unitary 'I' – only the fragmentary, contradictory subject I become" (Hall 1985, 108–9). In this spirit, I propose to turn the friction between the two epistemological shifts into a productive moment of analysis. I do this by analysing the statements that have been made by non-citizen-participants of the *March for Freedom* from my reflexive perspective as an activist researcher. Enunciative pragmatics offers a suitable set of tools for a cognate analysis of material-discursive borders between people and nation states.

Statements composed at the March for Freedom

In the course of the march, participants composed statements in different languages, which were subsequently translated (mostly into English, German, and French)[82] and published on the protest blog. Filed in a dedicated section and introduced with the caption "*From Refugees to European. Von Geflüchteten für Europäer_Innen. De Réfugiés aux Européennes*", a total of 58 statements were published.[83] They were mostly collected and processed in a dedicated media tent by a little group of activists who had met on the march. Often, people's strong desire to make a statement created

[81] Though militant research does not claim to adopt the perspective of *individual* migrants.

[82] This entailed a complex process of composing, editing, and translating, which sometimes involved several intermediaries. The 'original' version, as well as the exact date and time of composition are not ascertainable. My analysis is based on the English versions, grammar and spelling remain unchanged.

[83] After the march, collecting, translating, and publishing these and similar statements was continued on the website *Spread the Words*, which also contains a reflection on politics of translation: www.spread-the-words.de (accessed October 31st, 2017).

a veritable run on this largely improvised infrastructure, which became more and more in demand as the march approached Brussels. Some statements were collected in an even more improvised manner on the way, for example in open and semi-open refugee camps.

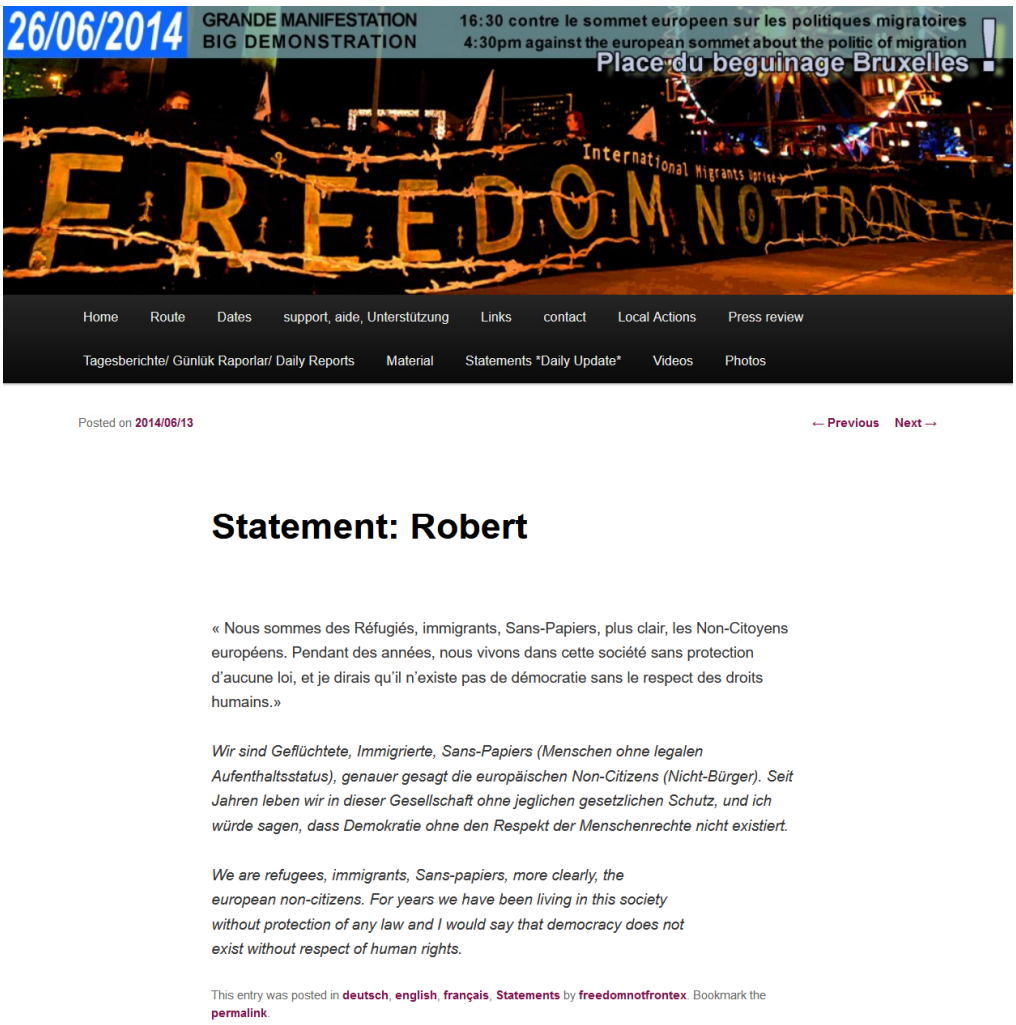

Figure 11 A statement on the March for Freedom blog (screenshot taken from freedomnotfrontex.noblogs.org)

Those who decided to give a statement had full control over how they expressed themselves, what they wanted to say, and what was published on the blog (see figure 11). While some of the statements are accompanied with a portrait photo of the person, almost all are signed with a name (the option to remain anonymous was given, but used only by a few).

In the light of these conditions of production, the statements produced at the protest march can be seen as practices of self-representation in the tradition of the struggles

introduced above. I did not solicit statements or intervene in their production, apart from the few occasions in which I was asked for support with translations. This distinguishes the statements from ethnographic data that is originally generated for the purpose of analysis. Due to their 'autonomous' nature, the reflexive statements offer a great basis to explore discursive bordering from the standpoint of the *March for Freedom*. At the same time, they allow taking seriously non-citizens' claims of autonomy, as well as the epistemological limitations of my own perspective.

For this chapter, I have conducted a fine-grained enunciative analysis of the 58 statements published on the blog (they are referenced in the bibliography with the label *March for Freedom*, followed by the name given).[84] In accordance with the previous chapters, I am not interested in uncovering the 'true intentions' behind these statements, or how they connect to the individual biographies of those who gave them. Rather, I take them as expressions of political standpoints, and as situated practices of analysis and theorising that ask to be heard and need to be taken seriously.

The chapter is written from my reflexive perspective of an activist researcher joining the march, albeit with the privilege of holding a German passport and enjoying full freedom of movement in the EU. I do not strive to provide an exhaustive account or a conclusive political evaluation of the march – this, I believe, needs to be a collective endeavour. In the following, I will show how the *March for Freedom* crafted a complex (and in some ways contradictory) 'we', which collectively moved within, across, and beyond EUrope's material-discursive borders.

2. Prefigurative Politics: Moving Within, Across, and Beyond Borders

On May 18th, the *March for Freedom* traversed the bridge over the Rhine River that connects the border towns of Kehl (Germany) and Strasbourg (France). Roughly 500 kilometres and three more border crossings still lay ahead at that time (see figure 12). By car, this distance can be covered in less than nine hours. Walking, it took the approximately 100 participants of the march more than a month. The route led them

[84] As of November 2017, all statements are still available online (see March for Freedom 2014h). Due to the word limit laid out in the University of Warwick's *Guide to Examinations for Higher Degrees by Research*, it was not possible to include them in the appendix.

through different nation states, regions, along motorways, countryside roads, villages and cities. To reach Brussels on time, they had to cover a daily stretch of 15 to 20 kilometres. In most places, local activists formed welcome committees and helped with the logistics. For some legs and demonstrations on the way, up to several hundreds of people joined the march.

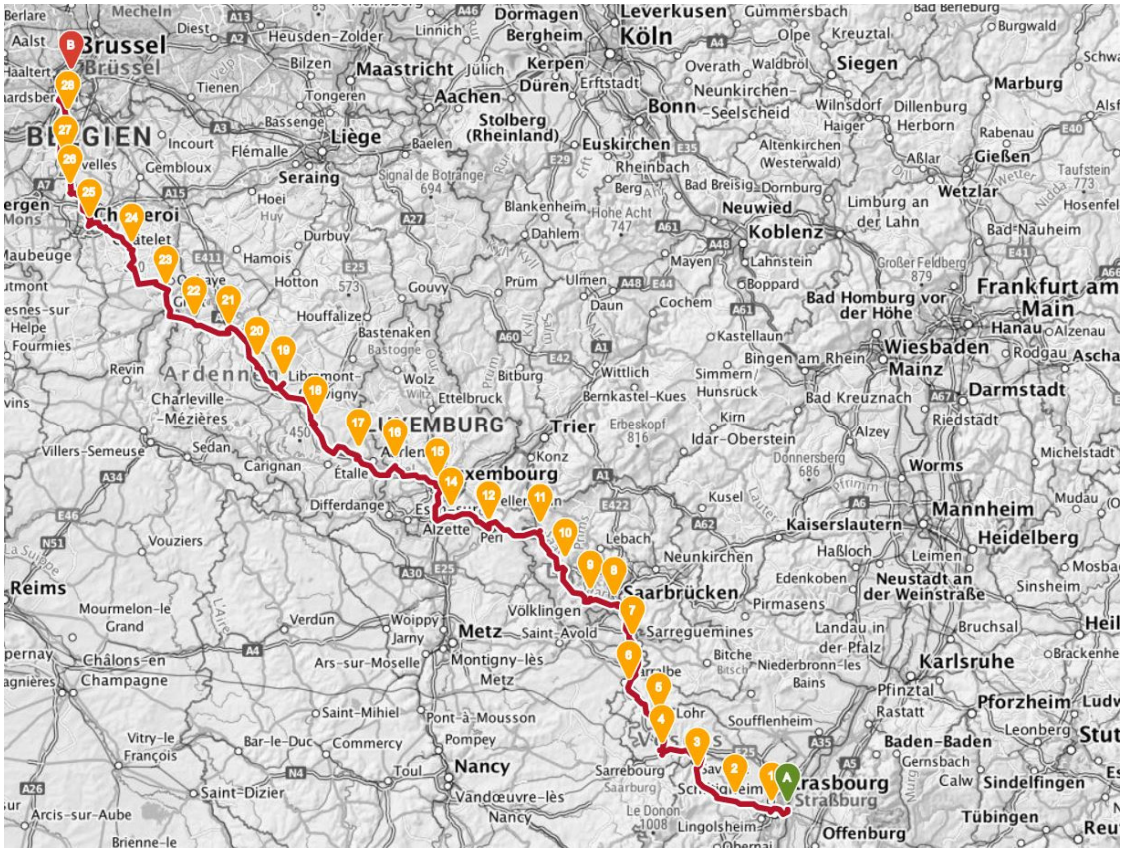

Figure 12 Route of the March for Freedom (Map created with openrouteservice.org)

The sleeping places were just as varied as the route: gymnasiums with warm showers, sports fields, lush meadows in the middle of nowhere, city parks, and – in the worst case – a concrete car park. On the way, solidarity kitchen crews from different parts of EUrope prepared fantastic dinners, and a perfectly equipped logistics team provided an enchanting protest camp with big and small tents that accommodated the media group, evening assemblies, and sleeping activists.

Like many others who had experienced transnational protests before, I was initially most curious about what I expected to be the 'spectacular' actions: the physical crossing of national borders, big demonstrations and protest actions, or the action week

in Brussels. Little could I imagine that it would not primarily be through these events that EUrope's material-discursive borders were challenged. In the weeks of the march, the insidious and often contradictory workings of borders between nation states, people, and enunciative spaces became increasingly evident. In the following, I will explore EUrope's material-discursive borderscapes through several border crossings, which became apparent to me while walking from Strasbourg to Brussels.

Crossing borders between people

« Yaşasin özgürlük! »
Es lebe die Freiheit!
Vive la Liberté!
Long live Freedom!
(March for Freedom: Ayhan 2014)

> I want freedom for everybody!
> (March for Freedom: Meriam 2014)

« Direne direne kazanacciglez! »
Im Widerstand, im Widerstand wir werden gewinnen!
En résistance, en résistance on vas gagner!
In resisting, in resisting we will win!
(March for Freedom: Turgay 2014)

> We are here, and we will fight!
> Freedom of movement is everybody's right!
> (A chant at the protest march)

Freedom and *resistance* – as a political horizon, this conceptual couple was present throughout the protest march. It did not only constitute an important point of reference in many statements, countless chants that reverberated in EUrope's borderlands, and decorated flags and banners carried on the route. On the *March for Freedom*, freedom and resistance were also connected in a unique way. The participants resisted in order to achieve their goal of freedom of movement for all. But they also temporarily realised this very freedom by collectively crossing territorial borders between EU member states.

In a powerful way, the preconstruct 'freedom of movement' was here regarded as a matter of course, an unconditional right for everybody. According to this conception of EUropean freedom of movement from below, crossing borders did not require a special status or authorisation. Instead, it was temporally and spatially realised against all odds, by walking and running across the border, playing volleyball over the borderline, singing, jumping – and collectively forming a human wedge aimed at ploughing through the often imperceptible lines that separate nation states and people. What can be described as the *prefigurative* character of the protest march resonates in the utterances of H.S. and Napuli:

Example 1 ***Prefigurative politics at the protest march***

Stop manipulating us, we are free to choose where we want to live. A short reminder for you, that with your power you think you have the right to impose laws as you want, that this world does not belong to anybody and that we are all human beings underway following their way…The UNEQUALITY OF OUR EQUALITY IS ILLEGAL!

(March for Freedom: H.S. 2014)

We are demanding from European countries and the EU in general. Enough is enough! The time is to realize that the rights has to given to us. You know which right this are: the right of movement. We need to feel as a human by having freedom of movement. Stop Dublin, stop deportation, stop isolating people by not giving people right to study, or work, right of privacy and stop hatred. Anyway the change is coming. Let it happen don't try to bloc it. As we are marching now it is the first step of getting our rights back. Here we are watching you, every time, every day, every minute, every second.

(March for Freedom: Napuli 2014)

The notion of 'prefigurative politics' was coined by Marxists (see Boggs 1977) and Marxist feminists (see Rowbotham 1979; Rowbotham, Segal, and Wainwright 1979) in the context of the workers' and women's movements of the 1970s. More recently, it has been taken up by anarchist scholars for analysing the spatial politics of movements such as *Occupy* (see for example Graeber 2009, 235).

In the definition of Carl Boggs, prefigurative politics encapsulate

> the embodiment, within the ongoing political practice of a movement, of those forms of social relations, decision-making, culture, and human experience that are the ultimate goal. (Boggs 1977)

Sheila Rowbotham points to the fact that "[f]eminism has (…) been the main organizational form through which the idea of prefigurative politics has begun to influence the contemporary left":

> Consciousness raising, therapy and self-help will imply that we want change now. They are involved in making something which might become a means of making something more. They do not assume that we will one day in the future suddenly come to control (…) and that this will rapidly and simply make us new human beings. They see the struggle for survival and control as part of the here and now. They can thus contribute towards the process of continually making ourselves anew in the movement towards making socialism. The women's movement has played a vital part in challenging the politics of deferment. From the start feminists have said some changes have to start now else there is no beginning to us. (Rowbotham 1979, 140)

In feminist struggles, prefigurative politics were aimed at overcoming the fragmentation within and between feminist and communist movements. Thus, they can be regarded as a precursor of intersectional politics aimed at connecting emancipatory projects across boundaries.

As exemplified in the statements above, at the *March for Freedom* the right to move and reside freely was claimed as a basic condition of humanity. While still framed as a demand in the first statement, people's movements are presented and enacted as an unstoppable reality. Against the background of the participants' bodily movement across borders, these fragments are a powerful expression of prefigurative political agency. At the march, activists challenged the politics of deferment by collectively crossing borders. All this happened in spite of repressive legislations and the legal consequences that such acts of transgression can entail for those without a safe status.

Stepping out of the passive position that they are assigned in representative discourses *about* migration, the subjects of migration here articulate and enact their autonomy by collectively crossing territorial and discursive borders. Importantly, this spatio-temporal realisation of an autonomy of migration is not done in a hidden, imperceptible

way (cf. chapter 1, 30ff.), but by consciously drawing public attention to it. In Napuli's statement, this is combined with a rejection of the hegemonic gaze of control that characterises the EUropean migration regime: "here we are watching you". On its way to Brussels, the march was sustained by the determination to hold EUrope accountable for its migration policies and the devastating material consequences these entail.

Written by two individual participants, the statements are enunciated from the position of a collective 'we' that is pitted against a repressive EUropean 'you'. In this way, 'intersectional voices' are speaking back to those deemed responsible for the politics of control that limit people's freedom of movement. Having joined the protest march in solidarity, this interpellation often caused me to pause. I was drawn in by the strong feeling of community, felt like a part of the marching collective, was fascinated by the dynamic movement. But at the same time, I felt addressed as belonging to a privileged 'you', that of European citizens who already enjoy free movement. I will return to this issue in the course of this chapter.

"Convention of the group. The hope, the solidarity, the help…. We need this." (March for Freedom: Moussa Djibril Diakité 2014) – at the protest march, moving collectively and in solidarity was deemed a necessity in order to reach Brussels and achieve change. At the same time, an emphasis on the differential position of the 'deprivileged' participants pervades the statements: all those who are not able to move freely; who are not allowed to work; who are homeless; who are disabled; who felt the need to leave their homes; who are told to leave their homes; those who never arrived; those who are denied basic human rights.

Across the statements, 'refugee(s)' is the prevalent subject position used to condense this precarious status:

Example 2 Mobilising the subject position 'refugee(s)'

(…) We are coming, we are coming, we are the refugees. Without documents, without homes, we will break the borders. (…)

(March for Freedom: Ibrahim 2014)

> I need them to see us like they see other people. Also we are humans like they see. We need to be respected like they respect each other. We need the rights like other humans or their neighbors. And they don't give us names, they just call us 'refugees'. We can't do anything in the country – in the country we live in. We are people like them. Every Refugee, they don't come by their own fault. We came here because we have troubles. Without troubles you can't see any refugees in the countries of Europe. So we need the respect, we need the rights, we need everything important to have like a human.
>
> (March for Freedom: Hassan 2014)

In the statements, the subject position 'refugee(s)' appears in an ambivalent way. On the one side, it is used as a self-designation that encapsulates the activists' autonomy (see for example Ibrahim's statement in example 2). On the other, it is denounced as a heteronomous interpellation that conceals the humanity of those who are affected by the material-discursive practices of bordering, which operate it as a prime category (in Hassan's statement). According to the *March for Freedom* activist Richard Djimeli, this objectifying interpellation is connected to a vicious material reality:

> The immigration politics of the European Union are a shame for whole humanity in the sense that today the criminalization of migrants is a cruel reality in the Schengen area. It expresses itself first through the objectification of the asylum seeker or refugee, through the arrests, through the psychological torture, through the denial of fundamental rights and finally through death. (March for Freedom: Richard Djimeli F. 2014)

This points to the fact that the effects of discursive bordering are never purely 'linguistic', but intimately entwined with material realities that entail biophysical violence (also see chapter 3, 109; and chapter 4, 149ff.).

While the statements in example 2 are representative of the different ways the 'refugee' subject position is taken up by the participating activists, they also shed light on distinctive political features of the protest.

Pointing to the heteronomous workings of labelling ("they don't give us names, they just call us 'refugees'"), Hassan illustrates the highly political character of the statements produced at the protest march. Beyond their respective content, this political character precisely consists in their enunciative configuration. The statements break with the representative mode of enunciation that dominates large sections of

migration discourse by occupying the enunciative zero point and speaking at its centre, with a name and subject position that are chosen, and not assigned. In Hassan's case, as in many others, a privileged point of reference was constituted by the universal subject position of 'human(s)'. By simultaneously crossing physical *and* enunciative boundaries that affect migrant subjects in their everyday lives, the prefigurative politics of the protest march was characterised by breaking material *and* discursive borders in a cognate move.

At first glance, it could be argued that the frequent reference to the subject position of 'refugee(s)' reproduces a discursive bordering along the labour / refugee divide, and thus runs against the striving for unity and solidarity that animated the protest march. However, taking a closer look at the statements, it becomes apparent that the signifier is stretched, and mobilised in terms of a more inclusive concept. The prefigurative character of the *March for Freedom* was premised on a politics of articulation, which challenged the hegemonic bordering between 'refugees' and 'migrants', and questioned the fundamental distinction between 'citizens' and 'non-citizens'.

This becomes apparent in a third set of statements:

Example 3 Politics of articulation

We are refugees, immigrants, Sans-papiers, more clearly, the european non-citizens. For years we have been living in this society without protection of any law and I would say that democracy does not exist without respect of human rights.

(March for Freedom: Robert 2014)

> I don't care who you are and where you from, which color, which nationality you have, what I know what I care, we have same blood. And we are human beings. Nobody is more important than others. If you are any religion or any race or any are you must respect human being. Nobody going out of mother country because of nothing. He has something, if you wane help him, solve his problem first, after that ask him why he is here. Because if you ask something and you cannot help, better to not ask. What happened before is happened, now we are in the present and we fight for future. For that we are in tent camp in Brussels now. Different nationality and different colors and different problems. Refugees and immigrants. But we have same enemy. This message is from me to all brother and sister who are like me, to be strong and not give up until your get your rights. Nobody is stronger than others. It just government and the government is elected from citizens of countries where you are suffering. If you wane solve your problem you must mobilize those who select government. To stand up with you then you have power and can change something. And from today we must start working mobilizing in every country we are there, if you are refuge or migrant we don't care you are human like us. And we support you.
>
> El Mouthena
>
> We are here
>
> (March for Freedom: El Mouthena 2014)

Robert's statement encapsulates the politics of articulation that constituted a core feature of the protest march. It consisted in stitching together the positions of "refugees, immigrants, Sans-papiers" under the umbrella of "non-citizens", whose presence in EUrope is defined as a fact. As echoed by the *Counter-Schengen-declaration* that was distributed at the protest march, these conceptual signifiers are not seen as representing antecedent 'identities', but as effects of a discursive bordering between "legal" and "illegal" migration:

> [T]he categories of 'refugee', 'migrant' and 'citizen' (…) create borders between people. The division of people and countries by borders kills human beings every day. Abolish all borders. Stop the killing. (March for Freedom 2014a; my translation)

In the second statement, El Mouthena spells out the modalities of such an articulation across 'borders between people'. The *March for Freedom* was based on crafting a collective 'we' that allows for diversity and is aware of inequalities along the lines of

status and citizenship, while always insisting on a common horizon of solidarity, support, and making connections between human beings across material and discursive borders.

Here, support and solidarity are not so much defined as something that is unidirectionally 'given' by citizens to non-citizens, or by a privileged to a non-privileged subject. Rather, and this spirit animated the protest march, they are seen as cutting through the material-discursive borders between migrant and non-migrant subjects: "Different nationality and different colors and different problems. Refugees and immigrants. But we have same enemy" (March for Freedom: El Mouthena 2014). In this way, the protest march prefigured an unconditional understanding of solidarity and support.

This is also reflected in the statement of Csabi, who rejects the specific deployment of the labour / refugee divide between 'Roma' and 'refugees', which became apparent in the previous chapter (see chapter 4, 133ff.):

Example 4 ***Solidarity across discursive borders***

The Gipsys are like the refugees because there was never a country. If the Gipsy is looking for a better country, there is the big G stamp in the back. After put in the wrong place, the place is like the Jail, because he is stranger in that country. We help all Refugees in the human rights. I hope one day open the people's eyes in the world, because the freedom is for everybody.

(March for Freedom: Csabi 2014)

But rather than just subsuming all participants of the protest march under one big umbrella, the material-discursive borders that divide people were turned into an explicit and ongoing concern. Analysing, challenging, and breaking borders through collective acts of border crossing constituted a political focus of the march from Strasbourg to Brussels. In a certain sense, this defies the colonial gesture of classification that structures the EUropean space of movements (see chapter3, 120ff.).

According to Lisa Lowe,

> [t]he repeated injunctions that different groups must be divided and boundaries kept distinct indicate that colonial administrators imagined as dangerous the sexual, laboring, and intellectual contacts among enslaved and indentured nonwhite peoples. The racial classifications in the archive arise, thus, in this context of the colonial need to prevent these unspoken 'intimacies' among the colonized. (Lowe 2015, 35)

In this sense, the prefigurative politics of articulation at the *March for Freedom* restored lost 'intimacies' in a process of affectionate re-positioning across borders. But at the same time, its participants were (made) aware that material-discursive borders affect people differently in their everyday lives.

However, some dimensions of difference within the collective did not constitute a prominent thematic focus at the march, and are scarcely reflected in the statements. Both were marked by an incomplete acknowledgment of intersectional forms of oppression, and the role they play in the EUropean border regime. Most strikingly, an analysis of sexism, patriarchy, and heteronormativity is virtually absent from the statements, while women and non-binary persons were also significantly underrepresented on the protest march and in the statements. Equally, differential experiences along the lines of sexual orientation are only made relevant in one statement. Interestingly, this is also the only time a statement was not given directly, but has been relayed in a representative mode of enunciation:

Example 5 Homophobia and borders

Gerard, 39 years, from Burundi in detention center Rotterdam (NL) since 1st December 2013. He lived in the U.S.A, in Canada and when Canada deported him back to Burundi, he asked for asylum in the Netherlands. Rejected. Now he is for the 2nd time in detention. He suffers, is depressed. He wants a normal life. In Burundi he will be jailed for 12 years, because he is homosexual. He wants Freedom no Jail. He still believes in God. He thanks all freedom fighters for marching. (…)

Note: This is not a direct statement, it passed through other people (not just through translation) before it get on this blog. Also it is not clear if the people knew that they could talk about everything they want. But before this get lost, it find also his place here.

(March for Freedom: Gerard)

More generally, participation in the *March for Freedom* was conditional on mobilising significant material and psychological resources, and meant taking a significant legal risk for those without a safe status in EUrope. It was virtually impossible for all those, who were physically prevented from participating and supporting others – for example because they are disabled, or were bound up in relations of care or locked up in detention centres at the time of the march. However, it is important to note that people did indeed manage to overcome such hindrances and join against all odds, even if they 'just' gave a statement or were present for a day. This impressive combination of heavy material constraints and an undaunted desire to participate and support becomes strikingly visible in the statement of a teenager, who expressed his solidarity on the way (see example 6).

Example 6 Overcoming material constraints

The people should get better food and have showers at home or they should get a passport, to have a better life. If not, they should get a house, a normal life, like the Germans, and the children should get better clothes and maintenance. Every winter we have to walk 300 meters to the shower. We are not even allowed to have a washing machine. We do not want that two families live in one room. In the school there is a bakery and many children buy food for themselves there, only we do not. I think it's a pitty, that we only get 240 Euro. If we had got more, I would have bought something to eat in school as well. I want to help other people also, but i cannot, because I don't have anything and I am poor myself. I'm called Daniel Milanovic and I'm twelve years old.

(March for Freedom: Daniel Milanovic 2014)

In addition to other material and discursive problems of access, giving a statement on the protest march was also not an option to everyone, especially by using a real name:

Example 7 Limits of self-representation

I'm afraid to say something. Once I have talked with a reporter from the television. After that they have cut my salary. The situation here is catastrophic [referring to a refugee camp]

(March for Freedom: Anonymous 2014)

The limits of the politics of self-representation that constituted one of the main political tools of the *March for Freedom* have only been made explicit in this statement. In addition to other material and physical access constraints, they could be seen as constituting the 'external borders' of the protest. Effectively, they made the march inaccessible to a large number of people affected by the EUropean border regime on an everyday basis. At the same time, these mechanisms of exclusion constitute the absolute horizon of possibility for the prefigurative politics crafted on the way.

I have experienced the fragile politics of articulation on the *March for Freedom* both as an immense personal and collective challenge, and an invaluable opportunity to listen and learn: *Who am I? What do borders mean to me? How do they affect others in their everyday lives?* And, to adopt a famous feminist slogan, *how is your liberation bound up with mine?*

Rephrasing Hall's formulation quoted earlier, the politics of articulation performed on the march and in the statements were based on the understanding that "there is no essential, unitary ['we'] – only the fragmentary, contradictory subject [we] become" (Hall 1985, 108–9). Marching from Strasbourg to Brussels, the 'we' of the *March for Freedom* certainly did not represent an unproblematic collectivity that was just ready to go. Rather, it had to *become* by physically and metaphorically moving within, across, and beyond EUrope's borderscapes. Negotiating and translating between different experiences and political horizons was hard work. But it constituted the necessary material basis for prefiguring a freedom of movement from below, which evaded the grasp of the EUropean border regime, even if just for a moment. However, *Schengenland* was yet to be unsettled in an even more tangible way.

Troubling Schengenland

Change of scene. A rubber boat drifts in the current. It is significantly overloaded, ten, maybe fifteen people are crouching on deck, most of them are wearing orange life jackets. The silver coating of an emergency blanket sparkles in the sunlight. As the boat approaches its destination, some of the passengers jump in the water to swim the remaining distance. The boat is on the verge of tipping over, one passenger desperately clings on to a rope thrown to them. Reaching the sheltering shore, wet bodies emerge from the water. Some of them are stained with blood.

A scene of arrival that has become strangely familiar to me in the last few years – even though I have never witnessed it in person, and only been exposed to it through media reports and accounts of friends. Today, I am watching it from the Luxembourgian shore of the Moselle. This time, the boat is decorated with the slogan 'Freedom not Frontex'[85], and its stranded passengers enthusiastically join the waiting crowd in jumping and performing one of the signature chants of the *March for Freedom*: '*Oh la la…Oh lé lé…Solidarité, avec les sans-papiers! No border, no nation, stop deportation!'* – this time, the blood is fake, and the capsize staged by participants of the protest march.

The *March for Freedom* has just reached the border triangle between Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg in the little village of Schengen. By boat, the activists crossed the Moselle at the exact point where the eponymous agreement heralding an era of 'free movement' for European citizens was signed between France, Germany, and the Benelux countries in 1985. Behind me, activists are starting to redecorate a rusty ensemble of iron steles.

Figure 13 Repurposing the Schengen monument (Picture taken by the author)

[85] *Frontex* is the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (for a critical perspective, see Perkowski 2012, 2016, 2017).

Using barbed wire, fencing mesh, Frontex barrier tape, and chalk graffiti, the Schengen monument is repurposed as a site of commemoration for EUrope's border deaths (see figure 13). Next to their names, the words 'bad sign' are written under one of the bronze stars that represent the iconic EU symbol. A poster depicts a dead body that is floating on the open sea. A few meters away, long lists of people that went missing in the Mediterranean Sea are affixed to concrete walls. A big EU flag is removed from its flagpole, soiled with fake blood, and hoisted again – with a *Refugees Welcome* flag knotted to one of its ends.[86]

Moments earlier, a pleasure boat had reached its mooring, spitting out a group of German tourists. They looked at the spectacle that unfolded in front of them with a mixture of astonishment and interest. A few of them rushed to take pictures, before they were hustled away by their tour guide. '*Oh look at that!',* I could hear one of them say in boldest Saarland dialect before they disappeared in a restaurant, '*It's really remarkable what the EU are putting on for the Schengen visitors. Fascinating, so real…*'. Familiar scenes indeed, it seems.

According to Schengen's tourist information webpage,

> the world's most famous village, symbolises the free movement of people and goods in 25 European countries. For millions of people, Schengen is synonymous with quality of life. (…) The three 3.5 metre high steel steles symbolise the origins of Europe with the ECSC while the three brass stars symbolise France, Germany and the Benelux Economic Union which are adjacent to the country with 3 borders. (Visit Luxembourg 2017)

The riverside of what would otherwise be a random border village has been converted into a little theme park. In *Schengenland*, numerous monuments, fragments of the Berlin wall, and a stately museum celebrate the Schengen Agreement and the European construction as a success story. In the museum, lavish computer terminals and glass cabinets with border guard uniforms aim to transmit 'the Schengen experience'.

While big banners with the messages 'Frontex kills!' and 'Frontex: Where are our children?' are unrolled on the roof of the museum, a friendly person at the reception

[86] Videos of the Schengen action day have been published on the webpage of the protest march (see March for Freedom 2014c, 2014d).

desk encourages me to check out the 'Schengen without borders' hiking trail: '*You'll find some peace there, here it's too much trouble today*'. Someone else answers: '*The March for Freedom has been walking on the trail of freedom for the last few weeks*…'. A museum guard interrupts the conversation with a dismissive gesture and points to the door. We decide to leave the almost empty museum.

Evidently, voices challenging the perfectly polished narrative that is presented in the museum were not really welcome. With their creative performances, the activists of the protest march brought the boundaries of free movement and the deadly realities of the EUropean border regime right into one of EUrope's imaginary centres. At least for a day, Schengenland has been complemented with a theme that is otherwise left out of its public relations:

Example 4 Commemoration of border deaths

Every day there are dead people in the Mediterranean Sea, in sight of the whole world. STOP this system!

(March for Freedom: Imad Soltani 2014)

The Earth is for everyone, thus we should be free and there should be no more borders. I am suffering from this law, which brought big misery to me because I lost my 17-year-old son in the sea.

(March for Freedom: Mohammed 2014)

Back outside, I am greeted by the sound of the chants and drums, which now mix with cries of anger and mourning. A father denounces the death of his son in the Mediterranean Sea. Feeling slightly out of place, I decide to take a break in a little park. In some distance, a police officer whinges into his radio. I do not understand what he says, but he seems upset. 'Freedom of movement is everybody's right!' – looking at the big banner that is tied to the bridge connecting Luxembourg with Germany, I get carried away by an exasperating thought: Why is Schengenland more troubled by border crossings and a little bit of spectacle, than by the countless deaths at its borders? Humanity, free movement, and quality of life do not represent an unconditional priority for EUrope, it seems.

As exemplified by the protest action and the statements of Mohammed and Imad Soltani, the deadly effects of EUrope's borders constituted an important thematic focus throughout the march. Staff and visitors of the museum did not really seem to care about *this* dimension of the Schengen story, at least on a superficial level. However, at the *March for Freedom*, the political effects of mourning and remembering those who had lost their lives at the borders of EUrope did not rely on public reactions exclusively. Rather, it felt like both the differences *and* the relations of support and solidarity *within* the hybrid collective of the protest march were especially strong in these difficult moments. In his work on the role of grief in migration struggles, Maurice Stierl makes a similar observation:

> The commemoration brought those together who had been differentially exposed to border violence: those whose relatives succumbed to it, those who found their lifeless remains, who survived such violence and returned, and those who responded to it in activist protest. Often folding into one another, these subjectivities and mobile identities formed, indeed, a 'political community of a complex order', one that may only temporarily establish itself in grief and in opposition to a general economy of violence that disappears people and creates asymmetrical experiences of violence for differentiated, categorised and racialised individuals, groups and populations. (Stierl 2016, 181)

In this light, the practices of commemoration at the protest march can be seen as a border crossing as well. By turning grief into a *collective* endeavour and making the deadly quality of borders visible through the performances in Schengen, the issue of border deaths was transposed from the discursive realms of 'individual fatalities' and 'tragic fates' to that of a structural causality. This was done by analysing and denouncing biophysical violence as a *systemic* feature of EUrope's material-discursive borderscapes (also see chapter 3, 109ff.).

In many statements, EUrope's colonial legacy is evoked in relation to the contemporary deaths at its borders. For Tresor, the presence of refugees in Europe is a direct consequence of its colonial past:

> It is you who tied your history to ours, by interfering in our different African societies, destabilizing us, dividing us and plundered us. Today, we are in Europe, face it: we want freedom and equality of rights as refugees! (March for Freedom: Tresor 2014)

In a more detailed analysis, Geraud emphasises that the EU's political economy is structurally dependent on its post-colonial relations with Africa, and thus contributes to creating the conditions that lead to war and displacement. Against this background, he holds the citizens and leaders of EUrope accountable:

> They must take their responsibilities, they should protect people before protecting the borders because it is about human life. These are people fleeing insecurity to go elsewhere to ask security. They must regulate all undocumented and all refugees without delay. Give them the right to work, to health and integrity. Because no one is illegal, the borders are and remain imaginary, since the partition of Africa in 1885 at the Berlin conference. Your mistakes will always catch you. Currently in connection with the march for freedom the message I want to pass is the fact that we the livings we do not allow that such an atrocity never can be again. I'm talking about people who have suffered, who have been beaten and died. For me to express myself here it's as to witness to the death for life. Long live freedom. (March for Freedom: Geraud 2014)

As emphasised in the *Counter-Schengen declaration* that was distributed on the way, the understanding of 'free movement' that underpins the EUropean space of movements is exclusionary and strangely ahistorical. By the participants of the *March for Freedom*, the present bordering of the Schengen space is deemed as inacceptable:

> At present, the Schengen agreement should guarantee freedom of movement between member states – a basic and fundamental right. For everyone, being a non-citizen means: trafficking in human beings, imprisonment, expulsion and death. We no longer accept this world that separates us by borders. We need a new declaration that guarantees equal rights for all:
>
> (…)
>
> [T]he Schengen agreements make 'non-EU countries' the subject of EU-specific border policies. The EU has established a system with two classes of human beings, those who enjoy the right of free movement and those who are subject to 'thorough verification'. And worse: it is not all EU citizens who enjoy freedom of movement. Roma are discriminated against throughout Europe, forced to flee and expelled within the European Union.
>
> (…)

> Frontex are border guards. Frontex are the border regime. The border regime is thousand of deaths every year at the EU's external borders. Migration from the Global South is controlled by the EU in a racist and capitalist way. In the EU, the police perform racial profiling. This means that people of colour are subject to police discrimination. A 'fully respectful treatment by the police' applies only to white European citizens. (March for Freedom 2014a; my translation)

The *March for Freedom* confronted Schengenland with the devastating impact that the EUropean migration regime has on those whose presence is deemed 'illegal' or 'illegitimate'. While the march constituted a troubling presence in the slick commemorative idyll of 'the world's most famous village', it also prefigured a form of political collectivity *beyond borders*. On its way to Brussels, it combined political analysis and a situated critique of the border regime with the temporal realisation of an unconditional freedom of movement from below. In this way, the protest turned the challenge of simultaneously marching within, across, and beyond EUrope's material-discursive borderscapes into a political tool. Prefigurative politics and the politics of articulation did not only enable reclaiming autonomy. They also allowed defying the colonial gesture of classification, which interpellates the migrant other as a peripheral subject that is sorted into a set of disjunctive categories (see chapter 3, 120ff.).

Contrary to worries expressed beforehand, the authorities did not try to prevent the border crossings. To many, the rather restrained presence of police and other authorities along the route came as a surprise. However, the protest march activists were confronted with a violent police operation only two days after they had left Schengen and reached the city of Luxembourg.[87] On June 5th, the foyer of a EU building was spontaneously visited by a delegation of *March for Freedom* activists, who had been protesting just around the corner, at Luxembourg's *Place de l'Europe*. Located a stone's throw away from the European Court of Justice, the building complex hosted a meeting of the European ministers of the interior. That day, the Union's *Justice and Home Affairs Council* was, amongst other things, busy with "adopting concrete measures for preventing illegal migration to the EU and possible loss of lives at sea" (Council of the European Union 2014, 22).

[87] At that time, I had already left the protest march for a little break of seven days. Thus, I was not able to witness the police intervention myself. My account of the events relies on eyewitness reports, which have been verified with videos, as well as by medical certificates and media coverage collected in the press folder compiled by a legal aid group (Refugee Movement 2017b).

In a press conference, a group of participants shared what they experienced on that day:

> We went in front of the building and shouted 'Stop Deportation'. When some of us tried to enter the building for demanding our right to speak as affected people, the police acted with violence. Later, when we gathered outside again to continue our manifestation, the police assaulted us again. This time they also arrested thirteen people. The police escalated the situation. They used batons, teargas and dogs. One of us was injured by a dog. The police was unable to cope with the situation. They used the teargas aimlessly and even injured their own people. Now they accuse us for this situation. We are accused of having been part of an armed and planned insurgence. In addition, we individually are blamed for bodily injuries, insulting state officials and for resisting against executory officers as well as for damaging property. Many of us were injured. We are still bewildered and shocked from the police violence at that time and about the extent of repression. The March4Freedom has been a peaceful event; we clearly communicated our demands via leaflets and online. In no other place we experienced confrontations with the police. In the police station they beat me and insulted me in a racist way. I got injured on my head, my arm and shoulder. They denounced me to be racist – funnily enough! I had the feeling to have no rights although I fought for my rights. They did what they wanted. Do I not have the right to say my opinion as a refugee? I joined many manifestations. I never have been violent. The accusations 'armed rebellion' and 'bodily injury' are unbelievable to me. Being imprisoned for fighting for freedom is equally unbelievable to me. It is terrible, because I don't understand what happens in Luxemburg. At the police station they didn't want to arrange an interpreter for me. Is there no right to demonstrate in Luxemburg? We announced very early that we need an interpreter for the hearing. The day of the hearing in November 2016 no interpreter was present. They had two years time to prepare this trial. Why are they unable to manage this? (Refugee Movement 2017b, 3)

In spring 2017, four activists were sentenced on charges of "armed and planned rebellion" to six months imprisonment on probation, a fine of 1000 €, and a compensation payment of 4500 € to the police by a court in Luxembourg (see Refugee Movement 2017a). In the end, Schengenland *did* strike back, by cynically mirroring the repressive workings of the EUropean border regime. Almost as if the troubling presence of the *March for Freedom* became too unbearable, the police intervention in Luxembourg led to severe breaches of fundamental rights, as well as to individual legal

sanctions for some of its participants. But it did not prevent the protest march from reaching its final destination.

Last stop: Brussels

After five weeks of walking through EUrope's borderlands, the *March for Freedom* arrived in Brussels on June 20th. A large protest camp was set up in a public park behind the *Gare du Nord*, one of the city's main railway stations. The protest had grown to 400 participants. As the march made its way through the green suburbs of the EUropean capital, it was joined by many individuals and collectives that came exclusively for the action week, while others returned after taking some days off. The programme featured several demonstrations and rallies, and a series of workshops.

But above all, Brussels condensed the various realities of migration to and through EUrope into the smallest of spaces: the impenetrable urban jungle of EU buildings in the European quarter, hermetically cordoned off and monitored to prevent protest and contestation; the branch of the local migration authority on the fringes of the protest camp, where people from Brussels were loaded into vans with tinted windows and driven to a nearby deportation prison; the different political backgrounds and horizons of the participants; the different perspectives and energy levels of those who had walked all the way, and those who had just joined the protest with their own needs, convictions, and desires. In some way, I had the feeling that this 'new' complexity challenged and overwhelmed the collective 'we' that had been crafted on the way.

In Brussels, the dynamic movement and the simultaneous crossing of material and discursive borders, which constituted the unique political features of the *March for Freedom*, gave way to a spatial fixation of the protest. Contrary to the initial expectations of myself and many other participants, the Brussels action week felt like an anti-climax: tiredness, logistical overload, and the fact that even the big demonstrations disappeared amidst the motorways and large glass facades of Brussels EU bureaucracy made clear that the protest march had reached its last stop. With hindsight, what can be defined as the main political goals of the *March for Freedom* – confronting the EU with the realities of migration and a freedom of movement from below – had been prefigured in a continuous process of crafting connections and solidarities on the way, rather than with a 'big bang' at the end.

3. Problems of Activist Research, Care, and Responsibility

It is a fundamentally strange feeling to go back home after walking through EUrope for five weeks. It is not so much the physical, but more the social and political side effects that make it hard to switch back to normality: not being surrounded by people who care for each other 24/7; sitting at a desk and writing my PhD thesis; conveniently pulling out my German passport to travel from Belgium to Germany, and back to Coventry. Borders do matter, indeed. To me, Brussels might have been the last stop of a self-contained protest event. For others, it was just a stopover on a long journey through EUrope's material-discursive borderscapes. For many, back to normal meant continuing their personal and political struggle for recognition and survival.[88]

Once again, the fundamentally different positionality of those adversely affected by the EUropean border regime on an everyday basis comes to the fore. In this chapter, I have privileged activist and collective forms of theory and analysis in order to come up with a situated account of material-discursive borders from the perspective of the *March for Freedom*. Against the background of the strong emphasis on autonomy and self-representation that characterised the march and similar struggles, going home and reproducing these voices left me with a feeling of unease.

The statements in this chapter show that the participants of the protest march can and do speak, analyse, and theorise for themselves. They produce a situated, bottom-up account of material and discursive practices of bordering. In no way would I have been able to compose it on my own. Yet, it is me who transposes these voices into a different context, and assembles them against the background of an analytical framework, in order to inject them into the cycle of academic knowledge production (and valorisation). In a context where the individual production and evaluation of knowledge is largely prioritised over more collective forms of research, writing this chapter necessarily involved reproducing enunciative privilege. Here, the contradictory subject positions of 'researcher', 'activist', 'supporter' and 'PhD student', as well as their intricate relation to material, intersectional forms of privilege

[88] Just a few months after the protest march, the focus of border struggles spectacularly shifted to the external borders of EUrope. In the 'summer of migration', the political tool of collective protest marches across borders would become relevant on a much bigger scale (see Santer and Wriedt 2017).

in terms of access and representation in academia become clearly visible (see Aced and Schwab 2016 for a reflection on whiteness in Critical Migration Studies).

As described by the ReflActionist Collective for the context of the migrant struggles on the 'Balkan route' in the summer of 2015, similar problems are also present in the activist field:

> All of us are in more or less privileged economic positions and somehow have enough money in order to be able not to work for a couple of weeks – including those who rely on social benefits. These observations also apply to this article: Who has got the time to reflect? Who has the energy and ability to put thoughts like this into an article? A lot of groups and individuals we have met travelled on a very low budget – sleeping in vans and tents, preparing food for themselves. But even then, doing this kind of support work is made more accessible with the privilege of not having too tight responsibilities like inflexible work schedules, or care-responsibilities for children, relatives or others. As care work is still mainly done by *women, these structures of privilege are related to gendered divisions of labor within the left scene. (ReflActionist Collective 2016)

What distinguished my presence at the protest march from the tendencies of 'voluntourism' and 'holidarity' pointed out by the ReflActionist Collective? Even though their reflections were written in a different context, I can clearly recognise myself in the description.

To me, the issue of care (work) seems to be central here. At the march, almost everything felt more important than academic research: helping with setting up the tent camp, caring for each other, doing night- and awareness shifts, providing emotional or legal support, washing-up, cleaning the compost toilets. As in many other social and political contexts and similar struggles (see Ünsal 2015), this work was mostly performed by women. Often (and yet not often enough), it felt more appropriate to me to assume responsibility for such reproductive tasks, than writing down field notes. On a different level, it reinforced my decision against conducting interviews or generating other, more elaborate types of data that would have monopolised the attention of the *March for Freedom* activists. I simply felt that they had more important stuff to care about than my research project. Nevertheless, writing this chapter would not have been possible without actively getting involved in the protest march.

Reflecting on 'research tourism' and feelings of unease, Mezzadra points to a twofold problem in militant research:

> [I]t is a problem if you go (…) thinking that you have something to give and it is also (…) if you think you have something to take; you have to give and take at the same time, and it is only this kind of balance that makes an experience (…) politically valuable. (Mezzadra, Garelli, and Tazzioli 2013, 315)

Maybe, creating such a balance could be seen as constituting a major ethical guideline, a core responsibility for researching activists and activist researchers. At the beginning of this thesis (see chapter 1, 56f.), I built on Donna Harraway's work on 'situated knowledges' to define research ethics in terms of solidarity and responsibility:

> The alternative to relativism is partial, locatable, critical knowledges sustaining the possibility of webs of connections called solidarity in politics and shared conversations in epistemology. Relativism is a way of being nowhere while claiming to be everywhere equally. The 'equality' of positioning is a denial of responsibility and critical inquiry. Relativism is the perfect mirror twin of totalization in the ideologies of objectivity; both deny the stakes in location, embodiment, and partial perspective; both make it impossible to see well. (Haraway 1988, 584)

This spirit has animated the situated approach to discursive practices of bordering in this chapter. I argue that using enunciative pragmatics as a situated method of discourse analysis allows for a cognate focus on analysing and abolishing borders in solidarity with the struggles of migration. The understanding of solidarity that underpins this chapter bears a crucial resemblance to what Leah Bassel describes in terms of 'listening *as* solidarity' in her work on struggles of migrant- and indigenous activists in Canada:

> [I]t recasts the mutual 'Us' that is to be created, away from the recognition of state and 'citizens'. Instead a separate space of solidarity is created on autonomous terms, and interdependence is between relatively powerless interlocutors who create new norms of intelligibility and relations of interdependence and recognition that do not rely on the Canadian state or society for approval and legitimacy, thereby enacting a radical political equality. (Bassel 2017, 72)

Neither shifting the epistemological perspective of research and activism, nor having 'good' intentions can conceal the fact that borders affect people differently in their

everyday lives. In this sense, the interjection by a *March for Freedom* activist that "all human beings are one!" (cited in March for Freedom 2014b, 27; my translation) quoted at the beginning of this chapter needs to be seen as a crucial task and horizon for developing a politics of care beyond borders.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have scrutinised discursive practices of bordering from the bottom-up perspective of the *March for Freedom*, a protest march from Strasbourg to Brussels in the spring of 2014. To this end, I have analysed statements that were produced by non-citizen activists at the protest march in a reflexive, situated framework. To extend the grasp of enunciative pragmatics beyond the desk and fully realise its critical potential, I have performed two epistemological shifts: towards enunciative analysis as a situated approach, and the politics of self-representation in non-citizens struggles.

Developing this situated materialist perspective allowed analysing the cognate crossing of material and discursive borders at the protest march in terms of a prefigurative politics. By crafting a collective 'we' that crosses hegemonic differentiations and physical borderlands, the protest march was able to move within, across, and beyond the borders that structure the EUropean space of movements. Crucially, such a prefigurative politics of articulation turned analysing and abolishing material-discursive borders into an ongoing concern. In this light, it can be qualified as a situated 'theory' and 'method' of discursive analysis and practice.

Here, the two dimensions of the double excess were fused into an emancipatory political project. Its success was built on an encounter between the excess of meaning and the excess of reality around migration. On the one side, a surplus of meaning allowed the appropriation of the preconstruct of 'free movement' and the stretching of the boundaries of discursive borders around categories such as 'refugee(s)'. On the other, the surplus of sociability that is inherent in political struggles allowed prefiguring freedom and solidarity as core principles for an affectionate re-positioning through the enactment of freedom and solidarity beyond borders.

The *March for Freedom* presented an emerging political collective that temporally and spatially realised a freedom of movement from below by simultaneously contesting enunciative and physical borders. At the same time, the material effects of borders and

the biophysical violence they entail were made visible. Pointing to a fundamental difference in positionality, privilege, and precarity, the excess of reality around migration and its governance in the EUropean space of circulation ultimately threatens the new connections and intimacies that have been crafted at the protest march. It also results in problems of activist research, care, and responsibility, which have been briefly addressed in the last part of the chapter.

These issues will be taken up again in the epilogue of this thesis, which reflects on the personal and political challenge the PhD journey presented to me. But first, I will condense the findings of my research in a set of conclusions.

Conclusion

In my research, I have embarked on a journey through EUrope's material-discursive borderscapes. I have travelled on the twisted historical paths of the EUropean space of movements, and addressed how its boundaries and concepts are shaped by Europe's colonial history (chapter 3). I have explored the discursive construction and supraversion of the differentiation between '(labour) migrants' and 'refugees' in German discourses on EUropean migration, and addressed its political implications in an intersectional framework (chapter 4). And I have physically crossed borders with the activists of the *March for Freedom*. Walking from Strasbourg to Brussels, they prefigured a freedom of movement from below by moving within, across, and beyond EUrope's material-discursive borderscapes (chapter 5).

At the same time, I have set out on a journey of theoretical and methodological exploration. I have developed theories that enable grasping discursive practices of bordering and the double excess of migration (chapter 1). And I have introduced reflexive methods and tools for a materialist discourse analysis, which allow scrutinising discursive borders in their heterogeneity (chapter 2). As the more empirical parts, these chapters explore the social and political effects of bordering. Thus, interlacing and reworking materialist and post-structuralist approaches from Discourse Studies and Critical Migration Studies not only provides a framework for the analysis of material-discursive realities to these fields. It is also a plea for a reflexive and political knowledge production that moves across the borders between different disciplines, fields, and epistemologies.

My research was stimulated by a concern for the effects of discursive borders in the EUropean migration regime from 1997 to 2014. I was interested in how practices of categorisation and differentiation (such as the 'labour / refugee divide') become discursive borders; what resonances, contradictions, or subversions can be observed across different contexts of migration discourse; and how individual and collective, migrant and non-migrant subjects take a share in the construction and deconstruction of discursive borders. In the following, I will condense my findings by resorting to the framework of the double excess of migration.

Bordering the double excess of migration

The discursive practices of bordering that I have analysed fuse on the level of the EUropean border and migration regime. Scattered across time and space, Europe's discursive borders consist of myriad practices of categorisation and differentiation that discursively render people's *movements* intelligible as different 'types' of *migration*. Conceptual signifiers and distinctions such as the 'labour / refugee divide' are used by various actors in law, policymaking, and administration for apprehending and channelling autonomous movements of migration. In a similar vein, academics draw discursive borders to delimit their fields and objects of research, often by resorting to definitions from the aforementioned fields. But practices of categorisation and differentiation are also put to work by activists, often in ways that fundamentally challenge their top-down versions.

All these practices intervene in the *double excess of migration*. By bordering the excess of meaning that is inherent in migration discourse, they contain the excess of reality that characterises the movements of people. More than a mere linguistic process, it becomes apparent in my research that discursive bordering enacts powerful social and political realities that materially impact people's lives.

At the same time, discursive practices of bordering are neither fully conscious, nor necessarily intentional: they are overdetermined by historical meaning, preconstructed in countless prior acts, and bound up with intersectional constructions of difference, which stigmatise and separate people along the lines of status, race/ethnicity, gender, and class. Conversely, pointing to the history and intersectionality of borders can become a political tool for emancipation.

Discursive borders are fundamentally heterogeneous. Their meaning does change with the context they are deployed in, but different spaces of meaning are also never completely sanitised, but overlap with each other. In this way, conceptual signifiers such as 'migrant' or 'refugee' can at once carry legal, administrative, populist, or empowering connotations. As I have shown in my work, it is this heterogeneity and their insidious quality that turns discursive borders from mere 'concept words' into powerful acts, which are capable of travelling between different discursive contexts. Thus, in some contrast to the effect that is often attributed to them, discursive borders are highly mobile.

Cutting across different contexts, discursive borders produce boundaries between people. They privilege some, while others who are profiled as not conforming to liberal standards of productivity, victimhood, or social desirability are excluded from a safe and dignified life in EUropean societies, or remain confined to its liminal spaces. Such exclusions perpetuate precarity and material deprivation. And in the worst case, they can be deadly: the biophysical violence of discursive borders is perhaps one of their most brutal and unbearable manifestations.

Everyone who re-articulates knowledges that render people's movements intelligible as distinct 'types' of migration is a discursive border guard – no matter whether they are policymakers, academics, journalists, or activists. However, as I have shown in my research, some of these enunciative positions are more powerful than others. For example, the production of migration discourse in the fields of academia and policymaking is structured by material and enunciative privileges, which result in a predominantly representative mode of enunciation. Thus, while discursive practices of bordering are highly heterogeneous, they are also marked by material-discursive inequalities. Especially in these contexts, but also in large sections of public discourse, discursive bordering does not only perpetuate, but crucially relies on the material-discursive exclusion of those who are profiled as 'migrants' or 'refugees'. To a large extent, the discourse of borders and migration is a discourse without migrants' voices.

At the same time, the notion of the double excess also points to the fact that the surplus of meaning inevitably affects the discursive practices of bordering themselves. The meaning of discursive borders and the set of conceptual signifiers they rely on can only ever be fixed temporarily. This additional dimension of heterogeneity can contribute to both the heteronomy and the autonomy of moving people. As became apparent in my analysis of German discourses on EUropean migration, the simultaneous construction and deconstruction of discursive borders can feed into the governance of migration. I have coined the notion of discursive supraversion to describe a practice of bordering in which the widespread assumption of a labour / refugee divide is thwarted, while its basic coordinates and power relations are reproduced (see chapter 4).

In direct contradiction to this, the double excess of meaning and sociability has enabled the collective deconstruction and transgression of discursive borders at the *March for Freedom*. By re-enacting the category of 'refugees' in terms of an inclusive concept, the activists crafted a prefigurative politics that allowed moving within, across, and

beyond EUrope's material-discursive borderscapes. In doing so, they challenged the enunciative and material conditions that are induced by the exclusionary politics of the EUropean migration regime (see chapter 5).

In both cases, the discursive practices of de/bordering are infused with a further dimension of heterogeneity. What materialist discourse analysts have called the 'real of history' is explored in terms of a colonial gesture of classification in my macro-historical perspective on the EUropean space of movements (see chapter 3). In German policy discourse, this historical overdetermination is insidiously present in the intersectional construction of difference, and feeds into the racist construction of a deviant migrant other. At the same time, colonial history is turned into a political question at the *March for Freedom*. Here, pointing to the post-colonial continuities of borders and racism helps to develop tools that challenge the borders between people and territories.

Overall, my work has demonstrated that the highly heterogeneous and contradictory quality is not a tragic flaw of discursive borders, but their fundamental condition of existence. To borrow the words of Basil B. Bernstein, the double excess "can clearly be both beneficial and dangerous" – it is "(…) the crucial site of the *yet to be thought*" (Bernstein 2000, 30). If the movements of people are only materialised as migrations through practices of bordering, their double excess always allows for movements to *matter differently*.

My research has several empirical, theoretical, and methodological implications, which reach beyond its original subject matter.

Empirical, theoretical, and methodological implications

By articulating approaches from Critical Migration and Discourse Studies, I develop theories and methods for analysing borders as material-discursive practices. This requires addressing discourse not in contrast to, but in its entanglement with material structures and processes. Discourse is a decisive factor for any type of social and political boundary drawing: it does not only furnish the ideological justification, but also the conceptual repository and enunciative modalities that make the dialectics of in- and exclusion work. Beyond a nuanced and empirically rich perspective on practices of discursive bordering for Critical Migration Studies, my research thus

contributes theories and methods for the analysis of heterogeneous processes of in- and exclusion to Discourse Studies, and the wider discussion in the Social Sciences and Humanities. My own perspective on discursive borders is necessarily limited by the material and political constraints of academic knowledge production (I will further reflect on these limitations in the epilogue). I hope that it inspires future research at the intersections of academia and activism, which is equally interested in scrutinising and challenging the political effects of in- and exclusion.

Reflexivity is a crucial ingredient for the materialist version of discourse analysis that I have put to work in my project. A reflexive approach turns reflections on the political conditions and limitations of research into an ongoing concern. Beyond a methodological issue, reflexivity thus points to the conditions and relations of production that materially underpin academic and activist research. In the face of recent political events such as 'Brexit' or the 'refugee crisis', the concomitant boom of the field of Migration Studies, and the ongoing neoliberal transformation of the academic sector, conversations about the politics and the political economy of research are perhaps more pressing than ever. The danger of becoming 'discursive border guards' does not stop at the doorsteps of researchers (and activists). If the double excess allows us to think and enact social realities like 'migration' differently, avoiding becoming 'critical border guards' requires crafting inclusive enunciative spaces and new relations of care and solidarity. While my research might offer some starting points for such an endeavour, I believe that this needs further reflection, and a more collective implementation.

In this context, intersectionality is not only a useful analytical perspective, but also provides us with political tools that allow analysing and unsettling discursive borders, while being aware that they affect us differently in our everyday lives. Crucially, Discourse and Migration Studies should acknowledge the effects of borders, racism, sexism, classism, ableism, and heteronormativity *all the way down*: as powerful realities that not only infuse the social and political subject matters we look at, but also influence the ways research is produced and reproduced.

My conception of research as a continuous movement between the spaces of theories, methods, and objects is relevant beyond a merely technical gesture. It points to the fact that political analysis and critique is not only the sacrosanct business of academics, but is always conducted in many other contexts, often under highly precarious conditions.

Taking people's situated knowledges seriously beyond their status as 'discourse participants' and acknowledging them as indispensable empirical, theoretical, and methodological contributors serves not only to extend the grasp of discourse analysis. It also re-politicises Discourse Studies, and turns it into a more collective endeavour.

As I have learned on the *March for Freedom*, crafting a political collective that is simultaneously aware of and transcends 'borders between people' is hard work. But I firmly believe that ultimately, only such collective and situated practices of discourse analysis will allow contesting the unbearable and suffocating effects of material-discursive borders.

With the words of Mark Fisher, such a project of collective analysis and affectionate re-positioning could be described as "Red belonging":

> As opposed to the essentially spatial imaginary of Blue belonging – which posits a bounded area, with those inside hostile and suspicious towards those who are excluded – Red belonging is temporal and dynamic. It is about belonging to a movement: a movement that abolishes the present state of things, a movement that offers unconditional care without community (it doesn't matter where you come from or who you are, we will care for you anyway). But don't hope either … (Fisher 2015)

While I agree with Fisher's proposal of a politics of unconditional care, I do think that it is important to keep hope alive.

Epilogue: Within and Beyond 'Overall Shit'

Gesamtscheiße. Overall shit. This is the term that popped up when I was working on a collective piece on materialist discourse analysis with a friend (Beetz and Schwab 2017b, 2017c). We were looking for ways to refer to the totality of messed-upness around us, the oppressive structures within (and sometimes against) which we move every day, and the feelings of anger and frustration that we have allowed to become all too familiar. A popular term in German left jargon, it allows to affectively (and, I would argue, not less descriptively) grasp an impalpable totality of, well, – shit! – and how we are bound up with it. A genuinely materialist move, which does not seem appropriate in the academic context. But why not?

In his paper *Fuck Neoliberalism*, Simon Springer asks a similar question:

> Why should we be more worried about using profanity than we are about the actual vile discourse of neoliberalism itself? I decided that I wanted to transgress, to upset, and to offend, precisely because we *ought* to be offended by neoliberalism, it *is* entirely upsetting, and therefore we *should* ultimately be seeking to transgress it. Wouldn't softening the title be making yet another concession to the power of neoliberalism? I initially worried what such a title might mean in terms of my reputation. Would it hinder future promotion or job offers should I want to maintain my mobility as an academic, either upwardly or to a new location? This felt like conceding personal defeat to neoliberal disciplining. Fuck that. (Springer 2016, 285–86)

While I do sympathise with Springer's point and appreciate his call for a contestation of neoliberalism, I think that he ultimately overestimates the 'scandalous' quality of his intervention. After all, the majority of academic spaces in the Global North still provide a relatively safe and privileged locus of enunciation to shout out a robust 'Fuck that!', at least for those subjects that are not seen as being 'out of place' already. Ultimately, the society of the spectacle eats its pranksters, clowns, and punks (see Debord 2014 [1967]).

According to the feminist scholar Sue Clegg, "affect is simultaneously erased and managed in ways that serve to bolster privilege in the academy" (Clegg 2013, 71-72).

For Clegg, this is the consequence of a "dominant discourse of affectless rationality",

> structuring the rewards accorded to particular forms of academic work, notably research, and in the hierarchical power accorded to disciplines and specialisms within disciplines. It is also central to the maintenance of newer forms of power represented in the culture of audit and managerialism, whose logics are presented as rational. (Ibid.)

In what follows, I am not exploring 'overall shit' in terms of yet another fancy concept that can be inserted in the cycle of academic valorisation, surrounded by a slightly smug, teenager-ish, and deeply masculinist aura of border transgression – although I do think that we often lack the appropriate conceptual language and tools for *affective* analysis and expression, in and beyond the fields of Critical Migration Studies and Discourse Studies.

My point is more mundane: How did this PhD affect me? If, to rephrase a famous feminist slogan, the academic is political, what does that mean exactly? As became apparent in the previous chapters, working on discursive borders, on the EUropean border regime always already means moving within and against bordering practices and structures, and the oppression they emanate. This leaves traces, and it would not be an appropriate representation of my PhD journey to conceal this fact. Discursive borders are relational. They materially *disconnect* people – you and me, and others – along the lines of artificial (and yet brutally efficacious) categories such as race/ethnicity, gender, ability, productivity, class, social desirability, or different 'types' of migration. At the same time, actual and potential *connections* rise from the rubble of oppression and challenge its very coordinates, every day.

The whole problem can also be rearticulated on a theoretical level: With the idea that doing research means looking at a closely delimited 'object' from the outside bursting into flames, conditions and relations of production are not just a bundle of anonymous structures and processes 'out there' (see Marx and Engels 1961; Althusser et al. [1965] 2015). In a similar vein, ideology and its conceptual apparatus are not merely "a question of an idea produced by an individual imagination, but of a system of notions that can be projected socially" (Althusser and Navarro [1986] 2006, 281). In short, it is about me and you, about the actual and potential dis/connections between us, and the way we analytically and politically deal with these (also see Aced and Schwab 2016). Affects are a fundamental part of this process.

“The dizziness of freedom and the anguish of existence were embarrassments” – this is how Sarah Bakewell characterises the strong reaction of Marxists and post-structuralists against phenomenology and existentialism: “Biography was out because life itself was out. Experience was out” (Bakewell 2016, 26–27). While I think that this charge is overly dismissive of the political practices of, say, Foucault and Deleuze (see Foucault and Deleuze [1972] 2006; Lawlor 2016) or Althusser (see Althusser and Navarro [1986] 2006), and fails to account for the complex relationship between philosophies of the concept and consciousness in the French context (see Cassou-Noguès and Gillot 2009; Fruteau de Laclos 2009) – Bakewell still has a point.

Affects are often embarrassing. Maybe it is their fundamentally unruly character that makes them difficult to grasp? Probably, ignoring them is a strategy of self-preservation, a perfectly comfortable mis-recognition that makes our lives more endurable? Maybe, I should embrace the musical wisdom of Hamburg’s indie rockers *Kettcar* and “rather become embarrassing than authentic”:

> For certain, really, true and authentic, are projections of a life called: Not-so-bad. And everyone wants it so, so much. There is no outside, anymore. No inside and outside, anymore. (Kettcar 2008; my translation)

In what follows, I will cross the borders between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ and explore three affective dimensions (a notion I prefer over ‘affective states’, because it better accounts for their ambiguity and simultaneity) that I have lived during my PhD: desperation, responsibility, and hope.

To this end, I take cues from Claudia Aradau and Jef Huysman’s political conception of methods “as an enactment of and rupture into the worlds of knowledge and politics” (Aradau and Huysmans 2014, 613). Inspired by John Preston (2013) and Emily N. Kuria (2015), I am using non-fictional and fictional narrative writing to break with the treacherous comforts of abstract and impersonal analysis.

This excursion through the landscapes of my (affective) conditions of knowledge production is personal; but its paths connect to, and interlace with broader processes of affectionate positioning and processes of in-/exclusion, troubling the idea that affects are something that is ‘internal’ to a subject (see Deleuze and Guattari [1987] 2007). I would argue that this fundamental sociability, as well as the potential collectivity they entail, constitute their political quality.

1. Desperation

Wrong life cannot be lived rightly.

– *Theodor Adorno* (2005, 39)

An early morning in Coventry. Drinking the last sip of my organic fair-trade coffee, my thoughts are already with the next paragraph that I should start writing in a few instances. With the long overdue book that I need to return to the library. With the deadline that I have been postponing for months and months.

*

'What are you doing today?', Akoni*[89] asks me. *'Nothing special really'*, I answer, still absorbed in thought *'...probably just going to the uni library in the city centre, trying to work'*.

Nothing special. Having a hot drink in the morning, asking what everyone is up to today, an everyday ritual that could happen in any shared house. Me and Akoni live under the same roof, half housing cooperative for people who chose an 'alternative' way of life, half night shelter for destitute people without a regular status in the UK.

We live under the same roof. And yet, we live in different worlds.

'It's strange', Akoni said, *'I used to sit in this library. Now, I'm a refugee'*.

*

Trying not to push people to share their stories, I had only then found out that his student visa was cancelled after he had dropped out of his course. As a consequence, he found himself destitute, in the vortex of the UK asylum system, like so many others. Only few days after our conversation, Akoni was racially profiled by staff in a public library, arrested by the police, and locked up in a detention centre. Living in different worlds.

Sometimes, after having spent another day in the heights of my PhD, I forgot what discursive borders actually mean, how mercilessly they materialise in front of me. How brutally they close off life paths that I am simply taking for granted. Not being able to choose where you are spending your day. Not being able to build your life the way I

[89] Name changed to protect Akoni's anonymity.

am. Being locked up. Being deported. Never arriving. Drowning in the Mediterranean Sea. Dying in the desert.

Borders often seem distant and abstract, easy to push away. And yet, EUrope's border zones run across our own desks, the conceptual apparatus we use to talk about different 'types' of migration, or the databases in which we are supposed to register students' attendance in order to feed the UK Border Agency with up to date intelligence about all those they qualify as 'suspicious'. Sometimes, we are the border guards.

Just as this PhD thesis underwent its last round of revisions, I was interpellated by the following recruitment ad while queuing for a double espresso in one of Warwick's café outlets:

Figure 14 Royal Navy recruitment ad on a screen at Warwick University (Picture taken by the author)

Contrary to what the display suggests, borders are not that far away. Destitution, detention, and deportation are logical effects of a migration regime that operates conditionality and temporality as its core principles, assured through a pervasive network of control that invades our everyday lives. What resulted in the deportation of 48,000 students from the UK under the responsibility of the Home Office secretary

Theresa May (see The Independent 2016) is not only a harsh reality in universities (see Raji 2016). As remarked by a coalition of healthcare professionals and activists,

> [t]he policing of UK borders is being devolved into every corner of our lives. The government is creating a panopticon in which we all police each other in areas ranging from employment and housing to – most troublingly – healthcare. (Docs not Cops 2016)

Holding a position, or not holding a position in this monstrous apparatus of subjection, which seems so powerful, insurmountable. How do we not end up in despair? Should it maybe, as Adorno said, be "part of morality not to be at home in one's home" (Adorno [1951] 2005, 39)?

But: Where is home? Can we choose home?

*

New Orleans, February 2015

It's my first big conference. *'It's part of the game'*, they say. Hilton Hotel. Border checks: Are you wearing your conference badge?

Endless floors, deep carpets. Divisions of labour: Opening the doors, cleaning the rooms, providing fresh water: People of Colour serving the conference crowd that is mostly white-cis-male. Serving me.

Divisions of labour: The theme of this annual meeting of the International Studies Association is 'Global IR and Regional Worlds – A New Agenda for International Studies'. In the premium slots of the 'Sapphire Series' the panels are white only. That is what 'global IR' looks like in 2015. They do not say that this is part of the game.

Critical debate, calling out and challenging the status quo. Confined to small rooms, attended by a limited audience. I enjoyed this part of the conference. Listening. Learning. But you always see the same faces. I am in this.

Uneasy feelings of complicity. Ego-defense: *'Maybe I'm not really a part because… I'm not staying in the fancy hotel? Because… I'll speak on a 'critical' panel? Because, in the end, I'm doing my reflexivity homework? Because…'.* Ego-defense. I am a part of it.

*

'*Es gibt kein richtiges Leben im falschen*' – Scribbled in my year 11 history book. Written on the walls of the social centre in my hometown. On a protest banner. '*Wrong life cannot be lived rightly!*' – Growing up in Germany's Left, I came across this injunction countless times. Over the years, I saw it morphing into an injunction, an easy excuse to do – nothing! A cheap transferable picture, like the small dinosaur tattoos that you can rub on and off your skin with a splash of water.

But this *is* home. What now, Theodor?

2. Responsibility

The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.

– *Audre Lorde* (2007, 112)

Audre Lorde used these words on a panel on *The Personal and the Political* at a feminist conference in 1979, drawing attention to the

> particular academic arrogance to assume any discussion of feminist theory without examining our many differences, and without a significant input from poor women, Black and Third World women, and lesbians. (ibid.)

Today, Lorde's words resonate with a global movement struggling against whiteness, sexism, and other forms of structural oppression in and outside of academia, my home (see Aced and Schwab 2016). The life of 'critical academics' – my life – is easy, as long as I can externalise structural oppression by comfortably pointing to something that happens *elsewhere*. But elsewhere is always *here* and *now*, in the midst and between us.

*

'This article is written from the necessarily limited perspective of a white-cis-male, class-privileged academic with full funding.' Ritualised self-reflection. Self-indulgence?

How does it affect the deep structure of my work, my interactions in the university, in the struggles I'm involved in?

Here comes fatalism: *'Every step you make is connected to your position. There is no way out.'*

Relativism lurks around the corner: *'If it's like that, does it even matter whether you engage in acts of reflexivity or not?'*

Cynicism adds: *'Just do whatever. Who cares about positions? Who cares about your position?'*

I care about positions.

*

What does it actually mean to care? Certainly, textbook reflexivity did not help me to figure out the discursive borders, the actual and potential dis/connections that *matter* in my everyday life. In fact, it actually made it easier to push things away from me…

*

Be responsible! An omnipresent injunction…

On the label of a drink – Get wasted, but stay productive.

#StudyHappy – Exercise on a treadmill-desk while you're working your ass off.

In the discourse of adultism – Don't coat a sponge with Nutella in order to put it on a toy catapult and smear it on your faces with your five-year old housemate.

In a volume on research methods – Do no harm, then get out of your lab coat and forget about it.

Responsibility… Performing a paternalistic split between subjects and objects of care?

*

What does it mean to be responsible? I had never really thought about the etymology of the word before reading it separated with a hyphen in Vicki Squire's book on activism in the deadly border zone between Mexico and the US.

Response-ability…

> Fighting for people in this regard might be understood as enacting an ability to respond across a site that is marked by biophysical violence: a form of violence that may well be frequently devastating, but is never wholly dominating. (Squire 2015a, 78)

Response-ability: Keep responding because we are able to. Figuring out how we can drop metaphorical (and actual) water bottles in the desert border zones that intersperse our everyday lives. Making connections matter differently, because they matter anyway.

In an undated address at Hunter College New York, Audre Lorde explores dominant responses to difference that she deems characteristic for "a profit economy which needs groups of outsiders as surplus people": ignorance, denial, and neutralization through copy or destruction. In contrast, "we have few patterns for relating across differences as equals." With the firm conviction that "within our differences (…) we are both most powerful and vulnerable", she proposes to "claim[] differences and learn[] to use those differences for bridges rather than as barriers between us (…) there is no separate survival" (Lorde 2009, 201-204).

Some further inspiration on how this bridge-building might look like comes from Donna Haraway, who also wrote a paper on multispecies response-ability (Haraway 2012): Against relativism and essentialism, she advocates "partial, locatable, critical knowledges sustaining the possibility of webs of connections called solidarity in politics and shared conversations in epistemology". She continues:

> The split and contradictory self is the one who can interrogate positionings and be acccountable, the one who can construct and join rational conversations and fantastic imaginings that change history. (Haraway 1988, 584–86)

Is there hope, after all?

3. Hope

> The university-as-such (n.): Their dream, our nightmare.
>
> Beyond the university-as-such (n.): Our dream, their nightmare.
>
> – *The Undercommoning Collective* (2016)

'Do you, deep down inside, actually believe in change?' When I was asked this question by a very important person in my life, I struggled to answer. Sure I do, in some ways. What gives me hope? The countless examples of people who take a stand against oppression, sometimes in very spectacular, often in imperceptible ways.

Hearing the story of a person who made their way back after being deported to a Southern European country to what had become home. It only took them a few days, and the joy once they arrived again was immense. The impressive movements in the summer of 2015, the EUropean 'summer of migration', which clearly demonstrated that the idea of a 'fortress Europe' has always been a myth (see Moving Europe 2016; Kasparek, Speer, and Buck 2015; Buckel 2016).

But after the summer came autumn and a cold winter. In the midst of the *Refugees Welcome* hype, Germany adopted the most repressive asylum legislation since years (see BT Drucksache 18/6185, 2015), and violent attacks against refugees and their homes attained unprecedented dimensions (see Amadeu Antonio Stiftung and PRO ASYL 2016). In the UK, the Brexit vote provided a space of resonance to act out racism, which materialised in a spike in hate crime (see UK Home Office 2017, 4–7).

Is it change, if we have to wait for the next summer? How can we keep hope alive?

*

"Must hope be so grand? Must it be a means to an end?" – Claire Blencowe asks this question in her mediation on *Seeking* (Blencowe forthcoming, 2017), included in an edited volume on *Problems of Hope* (Blencowe, Bresnihan, and Dawney forthcoming, 2017). Blencowe's words, which I first heard in a talk at a student occupation, profoundly resonate with the problematic engaged in this chapter:

> Hope as the fruit of unlearning, and unyearning; as what is left when we make space to breathe. We might pick up a little insight from their search. We might take a torchlight to those moments of unlearning and letting go that every othered and failing body has to pass through as a matter of mere survival. Those moments when we realise or remember that the measure of success is a sham. The revelatory refusals of common sense code or representation. The flashes of justice. We might dwell (not in being and death and transgression, but) in the joy of such moments. And hold that joy. And seek within it. Until we've tried to know and to have exhausted everything it is able to do. Or we might build ourselves bodies that are better able to unlearn. To let go (not of responsibility, optimism or hope, but) of all those parodies of wisdom that claim to know what we are, all those future-visions that cast the course as already set, and the searing heat of all those insults that we have been bred to bear – that bare their teeth at the glimmer of courage or strength or truth. (Blencowe forthcoming, 2017)

To put it with the words of the *Undercommoning Collective*, "an evolving network of radical organizers within, against and beyond the neoliberal, (neo)colonial university":

> The university-as-such can be the occasion for the joys of study, of solidarity, of poetic play, of learning and honing our powers. We refuse to relinquish these pleasures. But we will insist that these are gifts we give one another, not tokens of the university's affection for its subjects. We dream of the thing to come after the university. (Undercommoning Collective 2016)

The future is still unwritten.

*

The future is still unwritten...[90]

'Let's catch a train'

'Where does it go to?'

'I don't know'

He boards the moving train and settles into an available seat or strolls through the carriages, chatting with the travellers. ▪

'But are you sure you understand that I'm not an experienced guide in this area? I don't even actually know the way, I myself have never been up there yet. All I have is a piece of paper with a sketch of the route, one the mayor drew from memory'. •

'It doesn't matter'

He witnesses, without having been able to predict it, everything that occurs in an unforeseen, aleatory way, gathering an infinite amount of information and making an infinite number of observations, as much of the train itself as of the passengers and the countryside which, through the window, he sees rolling by. ▪

Our train. Undermining the watchtowers of the discursive border guards, who desperately try to uphold their empiricist imagination of self-evident categories,

[90] This story remixes the memories of Walter Benjamin's escape guide Lisa Fittko (2000 [•]) with Louis Althusser's imagination of an underground train without origin or final destination, which he used to illustrate his late understanding of materialism in terms of an 'aleatory encounter' (Althusser and Navarro [1986] 2006 [▪]). Staging an imaginary encounter of Fittko, Benjamin, and Althusser allows exploring the meaning of 'hope' within and against EUrope's discursive borders.

shooting with rhetoric guns at everyone who dares to question their enunciative privilege, their power of definition.

Our train. Cutting through the rusty biometrical filing cabinets of EUrope’s border regime, where intractable, imperceptible movements are recoded into measurable flows.

Our train. Ploughing through practices of bordering that roll out barbed wire between us, disconnecting people along the lines of productivity, security, and social desirability.

Our train. Re-appropriating their dystopian vision of interoperable databases and total control of movements, in order to forge new rhizomatic connections, within and beyond existing routes and networks.

‘And then he described some details for me, turnoffs we must take and also a hut on our left. Most important is a high plateau with seven pine trees that we must be sure to keep on our right, otherwise we’ll turn too far to the north; there's also a vineyard that leads to the right spot to climb over the crest. Do you want to take the risk?’ •

Certainly, he said without hesitation. ‘Not to go, that would be the real risk.’ •

***

Appendix

1. Notes on research methods

Steps of coding and analysis

Adopting the formal-qualitative perspective of enunciative pragmatics (see Quality criteria and formal-qualitative analysis, 66ff.), my research process involved the following steps of coding and analysis:

(1) Broad reading of texts from the 'virtual' corpus of policy, media, and activist discourse, guided by the research questions (see introduction, 4) and methodological choices (see research methods, 77ff).
(2) Case selection and composition of the 'concrete corpus'
(3) Manual, paper-based coding with pens and highlighters (scanning the text for enunciative markers of time, space, and subjectivity, as well as polyphony, and preconstructs)
(4) Identifying the formal-structural characteristics and enunciative configuration of the material
(5) Selecting semiotic instances for the fine-grained enunciative analysis; selection criteria include (but are not limited to) the density of enunciative markers, structuring function in relation to the other utterances of the text, and illustrative character.
(6) Fine-grained analysis (second round of coding against the background of the co- and contextual field of reference)
(7) Condensation and visualisation of results; the colour coding (see step 3) is not necessarily exhaustive, and has been reduced in some instances to ensure good readability, and to highlight sequences that are focussed in the discussion of results.

Concrete corpus

The following table lists the textual material that constitutes the 'concrete' corpus of my research. It does not include secondary sources that were not subject to a fine-grained enunciative analysis. These texts, which represent an important background

and contextual frame of reference for the analysis, are cited in the respective chapters. Extending the text-focussed approach of enunciative pragmatics with an ethnographic sensitivity, my analysis in chapter 5 is crucially informed by my own involvement in the protest march – this type of 'data' cannot be listed in a tabular manner.

Table 3 Concrete corpus

Chapter 3	
The Tampere Programme	(European Council 1999)
The Hague Programme	(European Council 2005)
Global Approach to Migration	(Council of the European Union 2005)
The Stockholm Programme	(European Council 2010)
Global Approach to Migration and Mobility	(European Commission 2011a)
Strategic Agenda for the Union in Times of Change	(European Council 2014)
Chapter 4	
Interview with Hans Peter Friedrich (#1)	(Bild.de 2012)
Interview with Hans Peter Friedrich (#2), including 37 online user comments on YouTube	(YouTube 2013)
Chapter 5	
58 statements collected at the *March for Freedom*, and published on the blog of the protest	(March for Freedom: Anonymous 2014) – (March for Freedom: Turgay 2014)

2. Notes on research ethics

Ethical approval for this research project has been obtained from the research ethics officer and the Graduate Progress Committee of the Centre for Applied Linguistics in April 2014. In this set of notes, I reflect on several aspects of research ethics and data handling that are relevant for my project.

My methodological and practical choices were informed by a series of epistemological and political reflections. With Mackenzie, McDowell and Pittaway (2007) and Hugmann, Pittaway and Bartolomei (2011), I share that simply following the principle of 'do no harm' is often not good enough when researching social and political realities that expose people to extreme bio-physical and psychological forms of violence ranging from trauma (see Jones 2007; Herman 1994) to deportation (see De Genova and Peutz 2010). At the same time, it is crucial to acknowledge people's political subjectivities and standpoints against a misconceived, patronising and victimising understanding of 'safety' and 'protection'.

Instances of 'reflexivity work' are spread across this thesis and can be found in the theoretical framework (chapter 1), the research methods (chapter 2), the post-colonial perspective on discursive borders (chapter 3), the epistemological shifts that underpin the situated perspective on discursive borders as a stake in a migrant struggle (chapter 4) as well as the epilogue that reflects on the political challenge this project presented to me.

Textual data

All textual data scrutinised for this project consists of publications that are accessible or circulated in the public domain. This includes

- institutional communication and policy documents
- activist communications (blogs, press releases, leaflets, and flyers)
- print and online media coverage
- online user comments

Since these types of data are published without access restrictions, no special permission needed to be obtained for non-commercial, academic purposes. Intellectual property rights have been respected by following common rules of quotation and

reproduction. In the case of online user comments, raw data has been made anonymous to prevent conclusions about the identity of the authors.

Field research

In the field, I have engaged with a transnational protest event that was self-organized by non-citizen activists, and supported by other activists. My research on the transnational *March for Freedom* in May and June 2014 (the results of which are mainly presented in chapter 5) was not interested in the biography, psychology or legal situation of these individuals. They can therefore not be regarded as 'participants' of the research in the classical sense. It is, however, clear that both groups of persons, and particularly non-citizens can be adversely affected by bad research practice.

I have used an intersectional approach to reflect on my privileged position in relation to other individuals involved in, or potentially affected by my research. This has also helped me to be aware of bias and discrimination along the lines of race/ethnicity, gender, class, and citizenship. I followed a strict policy of non-representation on the political level, which means that I have not participated in the political decision making of self-organized protests, or spoken on behalf of them.

Privacy and Confidentiality

Since the biography, psychology, and legal situation of individual migrants were not of interest for my research project, no personal data has been collected or stored. This allowed me to operate a strict policy of privacy and confidentiality.

No formal or informal interviews with individual migrants were conducted. Where conversations were held, they remained strictly focused on the political situation or the protest events. These conversations are not recorded or reproduced in this thesis.

The epilogue contains a fragment from a conversation that was conducted in a private setting. It has been reproduced in an anonymised way, and with the verbal consent of my interlocutor.

Consent

In the run-up to the field trip, I introduced the project at a preparatory meeting of the organizing committee. In the field, my project and position was verbally revealed in constituting assemblies and personal encounters. Given the democratic structure of the protest event and the fact that I was exclusively interested in their collective quality, this re-iterative mode of informed consent was appropriate and assured transparency at all times.

Because of the quickly changing personal composition of longer protest events, the high number of people involved, and the fact that the biography, psychology and legal situation of individuals were not of interest for the research project at stake, informed consent has been obtained only verbally (this also applies to the photographs taken). Written consent would have involved recording personal data, which could endanger potentially vulnerable individuals.

Data storage

In the field, data (fieldnotes and photos) was stored on a fully encrypted smartphone. This data was transferred to a safer, fully encrypted system as soon as this was possible, and has subsequently been deleted from the portable device. The entire dataset will be deleted after the examination of this thesis has been completed.

Protection

Non-citizen activists involved in protest events are a high-risk group and constantly confronted with psychological and bio-physical forms of violence. Thus, I have put a very high priority on making sure that my research does not increase and/or contribute to this already precarious condition.

An approach that acknowledges intersectional bias and discrimination, as well as the mechanisms assuring confidentiality, privacy and security that have been outlined above are pivotal to avoid any exacerbation of their precarious situation.

The non-biographical, non-psychologising approach of my research avoided re-traumatising situations that can be triggered by questions about a person's migrant

biography. Additionally, a strict policy of non-representation and non-involvement in migrants' decision-making helped to avoid dis-empowerment and victimization.

Field research at protest events poses a potential legal risk to the researcher. In order to minimise this risk, I attended legal training and counselling prior to conducting my field research to increase my awareness of legal rights and duties.

Because the academic representation of discriminated groups always involves a privileged position of enunciation on the part of the researcher, I have used an intersectional approach to disclose and reflect on my position, and the constraints it poses for conducting and disseminating research. A critical engagement with politics of representation and the politics of academic knowledge production formed a major concern of my research project.

3. Interview #1 (BILD)

Innenminister Friedrich (CSU): Was tun Sie gegen Asyl-Missbrauch?

Innenminister Hans-Peter Friedrich (CSU)

Foto: dapd

13.10.2012 - 00:01 Uhr

Von JAN W. SCHÄFER und FRANZ SOLMS-LAUBACH

Die Zahl der Flüchtlinge in Deutschland steigt rasant. BILD spricht mit Bundesinnenminister Hans-Peter Friedrich (55, CSU) über Asylmissbrauch, die Visumspflicht und Bargeld für Flüchtlinge.

BILD: Herr Innenminister, immer mehr Asylsuchende kommen nach Deutschland. NRW mietet sogar Turnhallen als Notunterkünfte an. Kommt da eine neue Flüchtlingswelle auf uns zu?

Hans-Peter Friedrich: „Es ist nicht so schlimm wie in den 80er und 90er Jahren. Momentan steigt vor allem die Asylbewerberzahl aus Mazedonien und Serbien. Da liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass sie eher aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen kommen und nicht, weil sie Schutz vor Verfolgung suchen. Das ist nicht Sinn und Zweck des Asylrechts, und diesem Missbrauch müssen wir begegnen."

BILD: Was werden Sie dagegen tun?

Friedrich: „Erstens müssen die Asylverfahren so schnell wie möglich durchgeführt werden und zweitens müssen die Unberechtigten schnell wieder in ihre Heimatländer zurückgeschickt werden. Und drittens müssen wir auf europäischer Ebene dafür sorgen, dass wieder eine Visumspflicht für Bürger aus beiden Ländern eingeführt wird."

BILD: Wie schnell können Sie das denn umsetzen?

Friedrich: „Für die Beschleunigung der Asylverfahren werden wir mehr Personal einsetzen. Noch im Oktober werden Angehörige der Bundespolizei das Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge verstärken. Die schnelle Abschiebung abgelehnter Asylbewerber ist eine Aufgabe der Länder. Was die Wiedereinführung der Visumspflicht für Serbien und Mazedonien angeht, hat der Rat der EU-Innenminister bereits entsprechende Beschlüsse gefasst. In einem Brief an die EU-Ratspräsidentschaft habe ich nochmals darum gebeten, die notwendige Zustimmung des EU-Rates herbeizuführen."

BILD: Sind die Asylanträge der Serben und Mazedonier denn erfolgreich?

Friedrich: „Bisher gab es so gut wie keinen Fall, in dem ein solcher Antrag Erfolg hatte. Wir halten Serbien und Mazedonien für sichere Staaten. Also schicken wir die Asylbewerber wieder dorthin zurück, wenn ihr Antrag scheitert. Je schneller dies geschieht, umso weniger Anspruch auf staatliche Geldleistungen haben sie."

BILD: Wie kommen die Flüchtlinge denn her?

Friedrich: „Da Bürger Serbiens und Mazedoniens visumsfrei einreisen können, kommen die meisten mit dem Bus, mit privaten Pkw oder der Bahn. Wenn sie dann auf deutschem Boden sind, beantragen sie Asyl."

BILD: Erwarten Sie Zustände wie in den Achtzigern mit Hunderttausenden von Flüchtlingen?

Friedrich: „Nein. Wichtig ist aber, dass wir jetzt entschieden handeln und ein klares Signal in die entsprechenden Länder senden: Wirklich verfolgte werden aufgenommen, Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge nicht!"

BILD: Das Verfassungsgericht hat die bisherigen Leistungen für Asylbewerber für menschenunwürdig erklärt. Sie müssen künftig so viel bekommen wie Hartz-IV-Empfänger...

Friedrich: „...und das wird dazu führen, dass die Asylbewerber-Zahlen noch weiter steigen, denn es wird für Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge noch attraktiver zu uns zu kommen und mit Bargeld wieder abzureisen. Die Bundesländer können sich dagegen wehren, indem sie strikt Sachleistungen statt Bargeld verteilen. Aber: Ein Teil der Leistungen muss immer in bar ausbezahlt werden. Deshalb müssen wir das Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz jetzt ergänzen: Wer aus sicheren Herkunftsstaaten kommt – dazu zähle ich Mazedonien und Serbien – soll künftig weniger Barleistungen erhalten."

BILD: Rechnen Sie in diesem Zusammenhang mit einem Anstieg der Kriminalität?

Friedrich: „Nein. Wir dürfen nicht pauschal jeden Wirtschaftsflüchtling als Kriminellen sehen. Größere Sicherheitsprobleme erwarte ich nicht."

Source

BILD.DE. 2012. "Innenminister Friedrich (CSU): Was tun Sie gegen Asyl-Missbrauch?" Bild.de, October 13. Accessed October 17, 2012. http://www.bild.de/politik/inland/hans-peter-friedrich/innenminister-klagt-ueber-fluechtlings-ansturm-auf-deutschland-26683892.bild.html.

4. Interview #2 (ZDF)

„Wir zahlen nicht zweimal“

Fernseh-Interview mit Innenminister Friedrich, ZDF, 19.2.2013, 5:23 min

Moderator Kleber (Mod): Es herrscht enormer Zeitdruck. Am 1. Januar 2014, also in 9 Monaten wird die volle EU-Freizügigkeit auch für Bulgarien und Rumänien gelten. Das betrifft auch ihr Ministerium: Guten Abend, Herr Minister Friedrich.

Was tut die Bundesregierung im Moment, um den Kommunen bei der Bewältigung dieser Probleme zu helfen?

Innenminister Friedrich (Fr): Es gibt mehrere Ansätze. Zum einen führen wir Gespräche mit Rumänien und Bulgarien mit den Regierungen. Ich werde die Innenminister in zwei Wochen bei der Ratssitzung treffen. Die Länder müssen dafür sorgen, dass ihre Menschen daheim ordentliche Verhältnisse haben, so dass sie keinen Grund haben, nach Deutschland zu kommen.

Mod: Das ist ein Programm, das wurde schon vor 5 Jahren verabschiedet und gefordert. Da hat sich schon die ganze Zeit nichts getan. Warum soll sich jetzt was tun?

Fr: Völlig richtig. Das Aktionsprogramm, das erste gibt es schon seit 2001. Da sind viele Dinge vorgesehen, die bis jetzt nicht ausreichend umgesetzt sind. Wir müssen darauf drängen, dass das passiert. Denn wir geben eine Menge Geld an die Europäische Union zum Zwecke auch der Hilfe für die Länder in Osteuropa. Und das muss dann auch entsprechend genutzt werden. Wir zahlen nicht zweimal. Nicht einmal über die europäische Union und ein zweites Mal durch Sozialleistungen hier.

Mod: Aber das ist ein bisschen spät geworden, nicht wahr? Also 2007 wurde das nächste Programm angestoßen und es ist auch nicht genügend passiert. Und jetzt ist

die Situation in Duisburg so wie wir sie gerade gesehen haben. Und in 9 Monaten wird es eher noch schwieriger sein.

Fr: Deswegen gibt es eine zweite Schiene, eine Bund-Länder Kommission, die von den Sozialministern eingesetzt ist. Die sich damit befasst, wie man sowohl das Leistungsrecht wie auch die Frage der Gesundheitsleistungen z.B. behandeln kann und wie wir Missbrauch bekämpfen können. Und das ist der entscheidende Hebel: Wir müssen den Missbrauch von Freizügigkeit bekämpfen. Das wird der Schlüssel sein zum Erfolg.

Mod: Was wollen sie da konkret unternehmen? Denn EU-Bürger dürfen selbstverständlich nach Europa kommen. Und Bulgaren und Rumänen sind alle miteinander EU-Bürger mit vollen Rechten, in wenigen Monaten.

Fr: Also es kommen sehr viele Bürger auch aus Bulgarien und Rumänien zu uns, um hier zu arbeiten und zu studieren aber es gibt eine bestimmte Zahl, die nur hier her kommt um Sozialleistungen zu bekommen. Das können wir nicht akzeptieren. Wenn ein solcher Betrug nachgewiesen werden kann, und das ist Aufgabe auch der Behörden vor Ort, dann kann man auch die Ausreise dieser Person verlangen.

Mod: Das heißt, die Leute müssen jetzt massenhaft ständig polizeilich gefilzt und überwacht werden, daraufhin ob sie mit lauteren Motiven kommen oder nicht. Die meisten würden ja gerne arbeiten, wenn man sie nur ließe und ihnen eine Chance gäbe.

Fr: Also man hat jetzt die Möglichkeit verbessert, Betrug zu bekämpfen indem man das Freizügigkeitsgesetz entsprechend geändert hat. Wir haben ein großes Problem: nämlich wenn man die Menschen wieder heimschickt nach Osteuropa, dann können sie sofort wiederkommen und das darf nicht sein. Wir müssen es erreichen, dass diejenigen, die heimgeschickt werden, weil sie hier betrogen haben, vielleicht auch Dokumente gefälscht haben, eine Einreisesperre nach Deutschland bekommen. Und das wird etwas sein, was wir auf europäischer Ebene gemeinsam besprechen müssen.

Mod: War es ein Fehler, Bulgarien und Rumänien so in die EU reinzulassen vor 5 Jahren, wie das geschehen ist?

Fr: Also ich meine, dass es zu früh war, das stellt sich jetzt heraus, dass die Länder offensichtlich noch nicht so weit waren. Aber das hilft ja nichts, sie sind jetzt Mitglied der EU und jetzt müssen wir mit der Situation umgehen und wenn man feststellt, dass es da Schwächen, Mängel gibt, dann muss man neu miteinander reden und verhandeln, das tun wir auf europäischer Union.

Mod.: Wäre es nicht höchste Zeit, den Deutschen auch zu sagen: Es ist so wie es ist, Bulgarien und Rumänien sind in der EU. Langfristig ist das gut für alle, aber kurzfristig werden enorme Kosten entstehen. Sowohl in Deutschland als auch in den Heimatländern, wo wir helfen müssen, damit die Menschen dort eine bessere Zukunft haben. Und den Tatsachen müssen wir nun ins Auge sehen.

Fr: Nein, sehen sie Herr Kleber, ich glaube nicht, dass wir dem Steuerzahlen in Deutschland sagen können: Ihr müsst zweimal zahlen. Einmal in die Europäische Union – denn wir zahlen Milliarden in de Kassen ein – und ein zweites mal über unsere Sozialsysteme. Das wird Sprengstoff für Europa geben. Und das werden auch unsere Kollegen auf der europäischen Ebene akzeptieren und einsehen müssen, dass da Handlungsbedarf ist.

Mod: Was passiert wenn nichts passiert? Wird nicht dann auch in Deutschen Städten, unter Umständen in Problemgegenden, wie wir sie gerade gesehen haben, ein Nährboden für Rechtsextremismus entstehen, der sie als Minister dann wieder beschäftigt?

Fr: Nein. Wir arbeiten an einer Lösung des Problems und wie gesagt es gibt eine Arbeitsgruppe zwischen Sozialminister, eine zwischen Bund und Ländern, auch das Innenministerium und der Städtetag sind eingebunden.

Wir gehen gegen Leistungsmissbrauch vor, wir überlegen wo es Lösungsmöglichkeiten im Rahmen der bestehenden Gesetze gibt. Ich bin zuversichtlich, dass wir das Problem lösen werden. Aber wie gesagt, notfalls muss es auf europäischer Ebene härtere Bandagen geben in dieser Frage.

Mod: Und das wollen sie alles in 9 Monaten schaffen?

Fr: Ja gut, also zunächst mal haben wir diese 9 Monate Zeit und dann muss man sehen, wie man mit der Situation umgeht. Wie gesagt, ich hoffe, dass wir sehr schnell dazu kommen können, auch Wiedereinreisesperren für diejenigen, die lügen, betrügen und Dokumente fälschen, sehr schnell umsetzen zu können.

Moderator Kleber: Die Ansicht des Innenministers. Danke, Herr Friedrich.

Source

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List of Terms and Abbreviations

AfD	Alternative für Deutschland [= Alternative for Germany]
AFSJ	Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice
ARD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland [= Association of the Public Broadcasting Corporations of the Federal Republic of Germany]
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
EU	European Union
EUrope	Points to the discursive torsion of the geographical, institutional, and historical layers of meaning that are masked by the synonymous use of 'Europe' and the 'European Union'.
Frontex	European Border and Coast Guard Agency
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IR	International Relations
PEGIDA	Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes [= Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the Occident]
ScaPoLine	Théorie Scandinave de la Polyphonie Linguistique [= Scandinavian theory of linguistic polyphony]
SSH	Social Sciences and Humanities
UKIP	UK Independence Party
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
ZDF	Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen [= Second German Television]